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Edited by

Andrew Faulkner
Athanassios Vergados
Andreas Schwab

The Reception of the *Homeric Hymns*

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We would like to dedicate this volume to Dr Nicholas Richardson, who has contributed to it a study on the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in the English poets. His contributions to the study of Greek poetry, in particular the *Homeric Hymns*, have shaped

scholarship on the *Homeric Hymns* over the past five decades. He has been unstintingly generous in his support of young scholars, whom he has guided with gentleness and a profound humanity: *est igitur aliquid humilitatis miro modo quod sursum faciat cor* (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 14. 13).

Andrew Faulkner, Athanassios Vergados,
and Andreas Schwab

Table of Contents

List of Figures ix
List of Abbreviations xi
List of Contributors xiii

1. Introduction 1
Andrew Faulkner, Athanassios Vergados, and Andreas Schwab

Part I. Narrative and Art

2. Visualizing Divinity: The Reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Greek Vase Painting 29
Jenny Strauss Clay

Part II. Latin Literature

3. The Hercules and Cacus Episode in Augustan Literature: Engaging the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* in Light of Callimachus' and Apollonius' Reception 55
James J. Clauss

4. The *Homeric Hymns* and Horatian Lyric 79
Stephen Harrison

5. Ovid's Bacchic Helmsman and *Homeric Hymn* 7 95
John F. Miller

6. The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in Ovid and Augustan Literature 109
Alison Keith

7. Hercules and Apollo in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 127
Jason S. Nethercut

Part III. Imperial and Late Antique Literature

8. The *Homeric Hymns* Turn into Dialogues: Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* 145
Polyxeni Strolonga

9. The Reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Aelius Aristides 165
Athanassios Vergados

10. The *Homeric Hymns*, Cornutus, and the Mythographical Stream 187
José B. Torres

11. The *Homeric Hymns* in Late Antiquity: Proclus and the *Hymn to Ares* 203
Robbert M. van den Berg

12. Praising the God(s): *Homeric Hymns* in Late Antiquity 221
Gianfranco Agosti

Part IV. Byzantine Literature

13. On the *Homeric Hymns* in Byzantium 243
Christos Simelidis

14. Theodoros Prodromos' Historical Poems: A Hymnic Celebration of John II Komnenos 261
Andrew Faulkner

Part V. Renaissance and Modern Literature

15. *Homeric* and/or *Hymns*: Some Fifteenth-century Approaches 277
Oliver Thomas

16. The Rebirth of Venus: The *Homeric Hymns to Aphrodite* and Poliziano's *Stanze* 301
M. Elisabeth Schwab

17. 'Those miraculous effusions of genius': The *Homeric Hymns* Seen through the Eyes of English Poets 325
Nicholas Richardson

18. The Reception of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in Romantic Heidelberg: J. H. Voss and 'the Eleusinian Document' 345
Andreas Schwab

References 367
Index Locorum 397
Index Rerum 405

List of Figures

2.1. Red-figure Lekythos, Cartellino Painter, *c.*470 BC 31
Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, Inc.

2.2. Black-figure Coral Red Kylix, Exekias, *c.*530 BC 32
© bpk/München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek

2.3a/b. Red-figure Bell Krater, Side B, Persephone Painter, *c.*440 BC 36
© bpk/The Metropolitan Museum of Art

2.3c. Red-figure Bell Krater, Persephone Painter, *c.*440 BC. Detail 37
© bpk/The Metropolitan Museum of Art

2.4. Black-figure White-ground Hydria, Psiax, Athens, *c.*520–515 BC. Provenance: Vulci (Italy). Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais 40
© Stéphane Piera/Petit Palais/Roger-Viollet

2.5a. Corinthian Krater, 600–575 BC, Musée du Louvre E 633 42
© bpk/RMN-Grand Palais/Hervé Lewandowski

2.5b. Corinthian Krater, 600–575 BC, Musée du Louvre E 633 42
Detail drawing from Yalouris, N. (1953–4), '*EPMHΣ BOYKΛEΨ*', *AEph* 1953–4: 172. Reproduced by kind permission of the Archaeological Society at Athens

2.6a/b. Black-figure Skyphos, Theseus Painter, *c.*500 BC 43
© MARTA 4448/7030, Taranto. Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo—Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia

2.7a. Caeretan Black-figure Hydria, *c.*550–530 BC, Musée du Louvre E 702 45
© bpk/RMN-Grand Palais/RMN-GP

2.7b. Caeretan Black-figure Hydria, *c.*550–530 BC, Musée du Louvre E 702 45
Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell, <http://www.alexmitchell.net> (also published as Mitchell (2009), fig. 61)

2.8. Red-figure Kylix, Brygos Painter, *c.*490–480 BC 48
© bpk/Scala/Vatican: Museo Gregoriano Etrusco

2.9a/b. Red-figure Kylix, Brygos Painter, *c.*490–480 BC (exterior) 49
Photo: Bruce M. White © 2014. Princeton University Art Museum/Art Resource NY/Scala, Florence

2.9c. Red-figure Kylix, Brygos Painter, *c.*490–480 BC (interior) 50
Photo: Bruce M. White © 2014. Princeton University Art Museum/Art Resource NY/Scala, Florence

2.10. Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Apollo and Hermes*, Oil on Canvas, 1660 51
© bpk/Trustees of the Wallace Collection, London

List of Abbreviations

ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, eds W. Haase and H. Temporini (Berlin and New York, 1972).
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols (Brüssels, 1957).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 17 vols (Berlin, 1862).
CWE	*Collected Works of Erasmus*, 89 vols (Toronto, 1975–).
EG	*Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, ed. G. Kaibel (Berlin, 1878).
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin/Leiden, 1923–58).
GDK	*Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaizerzeit*, ed. E. Heitsch, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1963–4).
Guarducci	M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, 4 vols (Rome, 1967–78).
GVI	*Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, ed. W. Peek (Berlin, 1955).
HWPH	*Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, eds J. Ritter, K. Gründer, and G. Gabriel, 13 vols (Basel, 1971–2007).
IGLS	*Les inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, ed. L. Jalabert (Paris, 1929–).
I.Pisid.Cent.	*The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia*, eds G. H. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell (Bonn, 2000).
LCL	Loeb Classical Library, ed. J. Henderson (Cambridge, MA, 1911–).
LDAB	Leuven Database of Ancient Books (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>).
LfgrE	*Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, eds B. Snell et al. (Göttingen, 1955–).
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 8 vols (Zurich and Munich, 1981–99).
LP	*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, eds E. Lobel and D. Page (Oxford, 1955).
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. McKenzie, and P. G. W. Glare, *Greek–English Lexicon, with a Revised Supplement* (9th edn; Oxford, 1996).
MP^3	Mertens-Pack 3 online database (<http://www.web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/database-mp3/>).
M–W	*Fragmenta Hesiodea*, eds R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (Oxford, 1967).

OLD	P. G. W. Glare, A. Souter, and J. M. Wyllie, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 2000 (1982)).
PCG	*Poetae Comici Graeci*, eds R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin, 1983–).
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66).
PGM	*Papyri Graecae et Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, eds K. Preisendanz, A. Henrichs (2nd edn.; Stuttgart, 1974).
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1971–92).
PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962).
PMGF	*Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. M. Davies (Oxford, 1991).
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds G. Wissowa et al. (Stuttgart and Munich, 1893–1980).
RGrK	E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, and H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600* (Vienna, 1981).
RVF	Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*.
R–W	*Menander Rhetor*, eds D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (Oxford, 1981).
SGO	*Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, eds R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber (Stuttgart, Leipzig, and Munich, 1998–2004).
SnM	*Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, eds B. Snell and H. Maehler (Leipzig, 1987–9).
Spengel	*Rhetores Graeci*, ed. L. von Spengel, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1853–6).
SVF	*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. H. von Arnim, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1903–5).
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris, Vol. 3 Tituli Pisidiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti*, ed. R. Heberdey (Vienna, 1941).
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, ed. Internationale Thesaurus-Kommission (Leipzig, 1900–).
Voigt	*Sappho et Alcaeus*, ed. E. Voigt (Amsterdam, 1971).
W	*Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium*, eds C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, 5 vols (Berlin, 1884–1912).
Wendel	*Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera*, ed. C. Wendel, editio altera (Berlin, 1958).
WZIS	Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem.

Abbreviations of ancient authors and their works are those of LSJ, with the exception of the *Homeric Hymns*. The latter are referred to as *h.Dem*., *h.Ap*., *h.Herm*., *h.Aphr*., and elsewhere as *h.Hom.* with the corresponding number. Abbreviations of journal titles follow the conventions of *L'Année philologique*.

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1

Introduction

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εἴς τε φόως ἄγαγεν, ἀρίσημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο
'She gave birth, and notable things occurred' (*h.Herm.* 11)

The *Homeric Hymns*, their language and narratives of the miraculous deeds of the gods, did not pass without notice in Greek and Latin literature of the late Roman Republican and Imperial periods. Direct citation and close imitation provide certain evidence of their circulation, of which select examples give a preliminary sketch. In Greek, the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, whose fragmentary works have emerged from the ashes of Herculaneum, quotes from the *Hymns* to Demeter and Apollo in the first century BC,[1] while the historian Diodorus Siculus bears witness in the same century to verses of the first *Hymn to Dionysus*.[2] In the second century AD, the learned travel writer and geographer Pausanias cites the *Hymns* (Demeter and Apollo), as does the contemporary orator Aelius Aristides (Apollo).[3]

[1] Phld. *Piet.* p. 87 Schober (Ὅμηρος δ' ἐν [τοῖς ὕμ]νοις, cit. *h.Dem.* 440), p. 93 Schober (ὕμ[ν]οι[ς Ὅ]μηρος, cit. *h.Ap.* 91); see I. Boserup, 'Zu Philodems *De pietate* und Heraklit B 80', *ZPE* 8 (1971), 109–11; A. Henrichs, 'Toward a New Edition of Philodemus' Treatise *On Piety*', *GRBS* 13 (1972), 72–7.

[2] D.S. 1. 15. 7 (μεμνῆσθαι δὲ τῆς Νύσης τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις [φασί], cit. *h.Hom.* 1 A. 9–10), 4. 2. 4 (τὸν Ὅμηρον δὲ τούτοις μαρτυρῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις [φασί], cit. *h.Hom.* 1 A. 9–10), 3. 66. 3 (ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις, cit. *h.Hom.* 1 A. 2–10). See M. L. West, 'The First Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus*', in A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 30.

[3] Paus. 1. 20. 3 (possible ref. to *h.Hom.* 1; see West (2011), 42), 1. 38. 2–3 (ref. *h.Dem.* 154–5), 4. 30. 4 (cit. *h.Dem.* 417–20), 10. 37. 4 (ref. *h.Ap.* 269), Aristid. *orat.* 34.

So too Athenaeus (Apollo and Dionysus) in the late second or early third century.[4] In the fourth or fifth century the Orphic *Argonautica* takes over four lines from the first *Hymn* to Dionysus,[5] while in the fifth century the Neoplatonist Proclus produces in his hexameter hymn to Aphrodite a line so close to a verse from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* that one can assume it constitutes direct imitation.[6] In Latin, it has long been established that the encounter of Aphrodite and Anchises in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* served as a model for Aeneas' encounter with Venus in the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*,[7] while Hinds has demonstrated that Ovid had as a direct model for *Metamorphoses* 5 and *Fasti* 4 the *Hymn to Demeter*.[8]

At the turn of the last century Barchiesi, in expanding upon Hinds' evidence for Ovid's reading of the *Homeric Hymns*,[9] recognized this to be an understudied area. The book before you is a response to this observation and the general impression, gathered from many hours of collective reading, is that the later reception of the *Hymns* is worth documenting at greater length and in a more focused manner. There is

35 (cit. *h.Ap.* 169–71; see Chapter 9 in this volume). It is notable that Pausanias does not cite *h.Herm.*; cf. T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936), lxx.

[4] Athen. 22b (cit. *h.Ap.* 514–16), 653b (possible cit. *h.Hom.* 1 B; see M. L. West, 'The Fragmentary *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*', *ZPE* 134 (2001), 8).

[5] Orph. *Arg.* 1199–202 ~ *h.Hom.* 1 A 11–14 West. See West (2011), 42–3.

[6] Proc. *Hy.* 2. 13 *πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐρωτοτόκου Κυθερείης* ~ *h.Aphr.* 6 *πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐϋστεφάνου Κυθερείης*. See R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary* (Leiden, 2001), 6–7, 203. For further testimonia in the scholia and elsewhere, see Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxii–lxxviii; A. Faulkner, 'The Collection of *Homeric Hymns*: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC', in *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011c), 176–8.

[7] C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile* (Paris, 1857), 274–82; followed and elaborated by A. Barchiesi, 'Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'Eneide', *A&A* 40 (1994), 116–17; K. Reckford, 'Recognizing Venus (I): Aeneas Meets his Mother', *Arion* 3.2/3 (1995–6); P. Hardie, 'Virgil's Ptolemaic Relations', *JRS* 96 (2006), 26; S. D. Olson, 'Immortal Encounters: *Aeneid* 1 and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*', *Vergilius* 56 (2011); C. W. Gladhill, 'Sons, Mothers, and Sex: *Aeneid* 1.314–20 and the *Hymn to Aphrodite* Reconsidered', *Vergilius* 58 (2012).

[8] S. E. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone. Ovid and the Self-Conscious Muse* (Cambridge, 1987a).

[9] A. Barchiesi, 'Venus' Masterplot: Ovid and the Homeric Hymns', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds), *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's* Metamorphoses *and its Reception* (Cambridge, 1999), 123; further A. M. Keith, 'Sources and Genres in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1-5', in B. W. Boyd (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of Ovid* (Leiden, 2002), 249–50; Y. Syed, 'Ovid's Use of the Hymnic Genre in the Metamorphoses', in A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, and S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome* (Stuttgart, 2004).

no doubt that the *Hymns* garnered significantly less attention in antiquity than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and that they often receive no mention in the Homeric scholia at points when one would naturally have appealed to them, facts which led Allen, Halliday, and Sikes to proclaim an 'impression of neglect' of the *Hymns* in antiquity.[10] The attention, however, paid to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is a disproportionate stick against which to measure the reception of any other ancient work. Moreover, the lack of reference to the *Hymns* in Hellenistic scholarship may owe to their 'deuterocanonical' status, that is their exclusion as genuine Homeric works amongst Alexandrian scholars,[11] rather than their neglect. To be sure, in stark contrast to the paucity of scholarly references, it has been amply demonstrated that the Alexandrian poets were avid readers of the *Hymns*, with which they were in frequent dialogue.

With the exception of one chapter devoted to the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Greek vase painting, a subject in need of a synoptic study, the essays in this book explore the reception of the *Hymns* in literature and scholarship of the first century BC and later, with particular emphasis on Latin and Greek Imperial/Late Antique literature: the scope of the book includes studies of Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, Greek literature of the Imperial period and Byzantium, Italian literature of the fifteenth century, German scholarship of the nineteenth century, and the English poets. This chronological focus does not seek to play down the importance of Classical and Hellenistic reception of the *Homeric Hymns* but rather to direct attention towards a gap in scholarship. Recent studies have investigated the early reception of the *Hymns*, while much work of the past thirty years has opened up our understanding of their reception in Hellenistic poetry.[12] Post-Hellenistic reception of the *Hymns* must, of course, take into account their earlier reception, through which later engagement with the poems is often refracted, particularly in the case of Latin poetry. Hunter, in underlining the importance of the *Hymns* for Hellenistic and Roman poetry, deftly sifts one such example:[13] the

[10] Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxxix.

[11] As recognized by Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxxix, comparing *Hom. Vit.* 5. 19, which rejects the *Hymns* as by Homer. Cf. Faulkner (2011c), 177–8.

[12] See Faulkner (2011c), with a survey of scholarship on the *Hymns* and Hellenistic poetry; G. Nagy, 'The Earliest Phases in the Reception of the *Homeric Hymns*', in A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011).

[13] R. L. Hunter, *The Shadow of Callimachus: Studies in the Reception of Hellenistic Poetry at Rome* (Cambridge, 2006), 21–6. For further examples of the intermingling of

speech of the divine shepherd Linus to Gallus on Mount Helicon in Virgil *Eclogue* 6.64–73, a passage concerned with poetic succession, seems to rework Delos' speech on the birth of Apollo at Callimachus *Hy.* 4.268–73; fittingly so in the context of poetic succession, given that Delos' speech in Callimachus is itself in dialogue with Leto's oath to Delos in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 87–8. A full appreciation of the Virgilian episode therefore requires an awareness of the reception of the *Homeric Hymn* in Callimachus, one of a complex of related intertexts.[14] More will be said below about modes and methods of reception. First, a brief survey of the Classical and Hellenistic reception of the *Hymns* will help to provide context and set the stage for the contributions in this book,[15] which take into account earlier reception where relevant.

CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC RECEPTION OF THE *HOMERIC HYMNS*

The evidence for the reception of the *Hymns* in literature prior to the Hellenistic period is not abundant. Their reception undoubtedly extends back to the interaction of the *Hymns* themselves,[16] but

influence by archaic hymns and Hellenistic poetry on Latin literature, see Barchiesi (1999), 125. Most recently, Bruce Gibson examined the presence of hymnic elements in the poetry of Statius and offered interesting observations on possible points of contact with the *Homeric Hymns*; see B. Gibson, 'Hymnic Features in Statian Epic and the *Silvae*', in A. Augoustakis (ed.), *Ritual and Religion in Flavian Epic* (Oxford, 2013), 133–4, 136.

[14] On layered reception in Latin poetry, see R. F. Thomas, 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference', *HSPh* 90 (1986).

[15] For a fuller survey of this material, see Faulkner (2011c).

[16] A number of verbal and thematic similarities suggest a direct link between the long *Hymns* to Aphrodite and Demeter, with the balance of evidence suggesting that the Demeter hymn is later: see R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge, 1982), 163–5; N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 42–3; A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008), 38–40. It appears that the *Hymn to Hermes* fashions itself in relation to the *Hymn to Apollo*: see N. J. Richardson, 'The Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*', in P. J. Finglass, C. Collard, and N. J. Richardson (eds), *Hesperos. Studies in Ancient Greek Poetry Presented to M. L. West on His Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford, 2007); A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 70–3. The *Hymn to Pan* also seems to be influenced by the *Hymn to Hermes*: see R. F. Thomas, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and*

there is little in the way of direct testimonia. Thucydides famously cites the *Homeric Hymn* to Apollo as a *prooimion* of Homer,[17] and a fifth-century Attic lekythos (*c.*470 BC) depicts a young boy holding a scroll containing the first line of *Hymn* 18 to Hermes,[18] a possible indication that the *Hymns* were already in the fifth century BC used in schools. Otherwise there are no direct quotations. Nevertheless, the *Hymns* have left their mark in Classical literature. Pindar seems to allude quite directly to the *Hymn to Apollo* when in a fragmentary *Paean* (7b. 10–14), at whose outset Apollo and Leto are addressed, the chorus leader claims to go 'far from Homer on an untrodden wagon-track' (Ὁμήρου [ἑκὰς ἄτρι]πτον κατ' ἀμαξιτόν).[19] Shared language and details of narrative show with some certainty that the *Hymn to Hermes* has influenced Sophocles' *Ichneutae*,[20] while a few isolated thematic and verbal similarities with the *Hymns* could indicate that Euripides and Aristophanes were also familiar with individual poems.[21] In a less direct way, Simonides in his Plataea poem appears to play with the structural conventions of early hexameter hymns such as those in our collection.[22]

In the fourth century, there is little trace of the *Hymns*. Del Corno proposed a number of allusions to the *Homeric Hymns* in Antimachus of Colophon's *Lyde*,[23] but his case is weak, as the allusions refer to individual words which are also found in Homeric and Hesiodic (or other earlier) poetry, a difficulty we encounter also in the

Commentary (Berlin, 2011), 166–8; Vergados (2013), 110–11. West (2011) suggests that the first *Hymn* to Dionysus may have influenced the narrative of the *Iliad*.

[17] Th. 3. 104 δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἐστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος ('Homer makes this very clear by these verses from the hymn to Apollo'), citing *h.Ap.* 146–50 and 165–72.

[18] See J. D. Beazley, 'Some Inscriptions on Vases', *AJA* 54 (1950), 318–19, and in this book, Chapter 2.

[19] See P. Bing, *The Well-read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Göttingen, 1988), 103–10; I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre* (Oxford, 2001), 243–52, 364–72; D. Fearn, *Bacchylides: Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition* (Oxford, 2007), 9–16.

[20] See N. J. Richardson, *Three Homeric Hymns: Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite* (Cambridge, 2010), 25; Vergados (2013), 79–86.

[21] See Faulkner (2011c), 197–9; Richardson (1974), 69 on the *Hymn to Demeter* in Euripides' *Helen*.

[22] See D. Obbink, 'The Genre of Plataea: Generic Unity in the New Simonides', in D. Boedeker and D. Sider (eds), *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire* (Oxford, 2001).

[23] See D. Del Corno, 'Ricerche intorno alla Lyde di Antimaco', *Acme* 15 (1962), 89–90.

study of the *Hymns*' later reception (cf. Chapter 13 in this volume).[24] Fr. 31.4–5 from the *Thebaid*, however (*τόν ῥά τ' Ἀπόλλωνος σχεδὸν ἄλσεος Ὀγκαίοιο | αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέδωκε, σέβας θνητοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι*, 'whom [*sc.* Arion] Gaia herself sent forth near the grove of Ongaian Apollo, an awe-inspiring thing for mortals to behold'), clearly reworks and compresses *h.Dem.* 8–11 where it is said of the Narcissus:[25]

> . . . *ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρῃ*
> *Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῇσι χαριζομένη πολυδέκτῃ*
> *θαυμαστὸν γανόωντα, σέβας τό γε πᾶσιν ἰδέσθαι*
> *ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.*
>
> . . . that Earth put forth as a snare for the maiden with eyes like buds by the will of Zeus, as a favor to the Hospitable One. It shone wondrously, an awe-inspiring thing to see both for the immortal gods and for mortal men.

On the basis of fr. 94 it seems that Antimachus followed *h.Ap.* concerning Leto's wanderings and the duration of her labour (nine days).[26] An echo of *h.Hom.* 1 has been proposed by Matthews for fr. 162, where it seems plausible that Antimachus placed Nyse in Arabia, a detail that he might have derived from *h.Hom.* 1 A 10 where Nyse is located *τηλοῦ Φοινίκης σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτοιο ῥοάων* ('in a distant part of Phoenicia, almost at the waters of the Nile').[27] Finally, an echo of the proem to *h.Herm.* (lines 6–9) has been detected in fr. 2.[28]

The engagement with the *Homeric Hymns* by Hellenistic poets of the third century BC is extensive and nuanced. There is good reason to believe that a collection of at least the longer *Hymns* was available to Callimachus (who alludes to them throughout his own collection of

[24] See V. J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon: Text and Commentary* (Leiden, 1996), 38–9, for a criticism of Del Corno's arguments.

[25] See Matthews (1996), 142; Richardson (1974), 69.

[26] . . . *ἐν δὲ τοῖς | ὕμ[ν]οι[ς Ὅ]μηρος [ἡ]||μέ[ρας ἀλγ]ῆσαι κ[αὶ] νύκ[τας ἐ]ννέα [τὴν] |Λη[τὼ πρὶν] τεκεῖν| φη[σιν. Κ]αλλίμα|χο[ς δὲ τὰ] παρ' Ἀντι|μά[χῳ με]ταλαβὼν | ἔγρ[αψε]ν [ὡ]ς οὐδὲ [. . .]π̣ρ̣ [. . .]δ[. . .]γετο* (= Phld. *Piet.*, *P. Hercul.* N 1088II + N 433II, 38 + 29 Gomperz). Callimachus adds to this story the theme of Hera's hatred. See Matthews (1996), 259–61. Crucial here is the meaning of *μεταλαβών*: if it means 'took over', as Henrichs (1972), 72–7, assumed, then Callimachus would agree with the story's treatment in Antimachus who would thus have departed from *h.Apol.* But G. Giangrande, 'Kallimachos und Antimachos', *Hermes* 102 (1974) is correct to understand 'change', a sense commonly found in scholiastic literature, which implies that Callimachus distanced himself from Antimachus who must have agreed with the story as told by the poet of *h.Ap.*

[27] See Matthews (1996), 367–8.

[28] See Vergados (2013), 111–12.

six hymns) and stood in the great library of Alexandria.[29] The popularity of the *Hymns* in this period may be due in part to their suitability as a medium for encomiastic praise of patrons who themselves claimed divinity.[30] Thus Theocritus in some respects fashions *Idyll* 17, an encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus, as a hymn in dialogue with the account of Apollo's birth on Delos in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: Philadelphus, born on Cos, is likened to the god Apollo in his reception by an island at birth (58–76).[31] In his first hymn to Zeus, in which Ptolemaic kingship is similarly associated with Zeus' divinity, Callimachus evokes the opening lines of the first *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (*Hy.* 1. 4–8 ~ *h.Hom.* 1. 2–6, through the motif of rival birthplaces).[32] The precocious young Zeus in that same hymn also recalls the extraordinary infant Hermes in the *Hymn to Hermes*, whose narrative appears elsewhere to have influenced Callimachus' depiction of the gifted child Artemis in his third hymn.[33]

The appeal of the *Hymns* may also have lain in the Hellenistic and Roman taste for shorter and more experimental poems.[34] Also attractive could have been the playful nature of narratives such as

[29] See Faulkner (2011c), 179–81.

[30] So R. L. Hunter, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry* (Cambridge, 1996), 47. 'The "Homeric hymn", which identified the areas of a god's power and placed him or her within the overall scheme of the divine, seems in retrospect an obvious vehicle for describing the divine.'

[31] See R. L. Hunter, *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Berkeley, 2003), 8–9, 142–5. In the *Hymn*, Cos is one of the islands that rejects Leto. Theocritus elsewhere clearly rewrites *Hymn* 33 to the Dioscuri in the opening lines of *Idyll* 22, while *Idyll* 24 seems to recall the Metaneira–Demophoon episode in the *Hymn to Demeter*: see Hunter (1996), 12, 46–57; A. Sens, *Theocritus: Dioscuri (Idyll 22)* (Göttingen, 1997), 13, 75–9. The influence of the *Hymn to Apollo* is evident also in Callimachus' hymns to Apollo and Delos; further discussion in Faulkner (2011c), 181–8, with bibliography.

[32] See e.g. M. Depew, 'Gender, Power, and Poetics in Callimachus' Book of *Hymns*', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds), *Hellenistica Groningana*: *Callimachus II* (Leuven, 2004), 118–21. On the similarity of Callimachus' hymn to Zeus and Theocritus *Idyll* 17, see S. Stephens, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Berkeley, 2003), 127–8 and *passim*.

[33] See J. J. Clauss, 'Lies and Allusions: The Addressee and Date of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*', *ClAnt* 5 (1986) and subsection below on Callimachus, p. 12 in this chapter; Vergados (2013), 117–18.

[34] So Hunter (2006), 25, 'in the importance of the *Homeric Hymns* for Hellenistic and Roman poetry we can trace an attempt, perhaps conscious, to find in Homer the same trends towards shorter and more experimental poems that the age, for a complex combination of reasons, favoured'. I. Petrovic, 'Rhapsodic Hymns and Epyllia', in M. Baumbach and S. Bär (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Epyllion and Its Reception* (Leiden, 2012) suggests that the *Hymns* were models for Hellenistic *epyllia*.

the *Hymns* to Hermes and Aphrodite: as the contributions in this book demonstrate, these two *Hymns* seem to have been particularly popular amongst Latin poets, including Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. Callimachus also very probably alludes to the *Hymn to Aphrodite* in his collection. In his *Hymn to Artemis*, the young goddess punishes a city of the unjust (ἀλλά μιν εἰς ἀδίκων ἔβαλες πόλιν, 122), a possible echo of her rare concern for just cities in the *Hymn* (δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν, 20); in the same poem the description of Artemis petitioning her father for virginity and honours (26–8) recalls (alongside Sapph. fr. 44a. 1–11 Voigt) Hestia's oath of virginity in the *Hymn* (25–32); unique language of the cries of nymphs at Apollo's birth in the fourth hymn to Delos (διαπρυσίην ὀλολυγήν, 258) points to the *Hymn* (διαπρύσιοί τ' ὀλολυγαί, 19); and the negative contrast of the virgin Athena with Aphrodite at the beginning of his fifth hymn is thematically reminiscent of the priamel at the beginning of the *Hymn*, where Aphrodite is contrasted with the virginal Athena, Artemis, and Hestia.[35] Furthermore, lines 137–41 probably owe something to the closing formulas of the *Homeric Hymns*, and especially to *h.Ap.* 177ff. (the conclusion of the *Delian* part) where the singer's taking leave from his audience is directly followed by new material of praise.[36] The *Hymn to Demeter* is a clear model for Callimachus' sixth hymn to the same goddess, which with its narrative of transgression against a god recalls the story of Dionysus' abduction by Tyrrhenian pirates in the seventh *Hymn*.[37] It elsewhere seems probable that the

[35] See R. L. Hunter, 'Writing the God: Form and Meaning in Callimachus, *Hymn to Athena*', *MD* 29 (1992), 12; F. Hadjittofi, 'Callimachus' Sexy Athena: The *Hymn to Athena* and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*', *Materiali e Discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 60 (2008); A. Faulkner, 'Callimachus and his Allusive Virgins: Delos, Hestia, and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*', *HSPh* 105 (2010a); Faulkner (2008), 191–3, with bibliography. S. D. Olson, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and Related Texts* (Berlin, 2012), 24–8, who goes to great lengths to downplay the potential impact of the long *Hymn to Aphrodite* on Callimachus and other Hellenistic literature, is seemingly unaware of the wealth of scholarship attesting the popularity of the *Hymns* in the period. Especially in the case of Callimachus' hymns, the many clear allusions to the *Homeric Hymns* make less obvious or purely thematic intertexts a priori more likely.

[36] See F. Bornmann, *Callimachi Hymnus in Dianam. Introduzione, testo critico e commento* (Florence, 1968), *ad* 137–41.

[37] See P. Bing, 'Callimachus and the *Hymn to Demeter*', *SyllClass* 6 (1995); A. W. Bulloch, 'Callimachus' *Erysichthon*, Homer and Apollonius Rhodius', *AJPh* 98 (1977), 99–101; A. Faulkner, 'Fast, Famine, and Feast: The Motif of Food in Callimachus' Sixth *Hymn to Demeter*', *HSPh* 106 (2012).

nineteenth *Hymn to Pan* is an intertext for Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*.[38]

In what follows we present a selection of references to the *Homeric Hymns* in Hellenistic literature that have been pointed out in recent scholarship, in order to provide further context:

Philitas

No allusions to *h.Herm.* can be detected among the fragments of and testimonia to Philitas' *Hermes*, in which Odysseus seems to have played a prominent role.[39] Philitas may have capitalized on the similarities between Hermes and Odysseus (who in some versions was said to descend from Hermes) that had already been established in poetry.[40]

In the case of Philitas' *Demeter* Spanoudakis has argued that *h.Dem.* was the 'main model . . . adapted to Coan standards'.[41] Common themes listed by Spanoudakis include: the aetiology of the Coan cult of Demeter (just as *h.Dem.* had provided the *aition* for the Eleusinian cult); Demeter's meeting with Chalkon that might have been influenced by the goddess's meeting the daughters of Celeus in the *Hymn*; possibly Demeter's breaking of the fast and the 'mimetic efforts' aimed at changing the goddess's mood such as those by Iambe in the *Hymn*; the plane tree of *Demeter* fr. 8 might be based on the olive tree mentioned at *h.Dem.* 98–9; and the fact that the goddess mourns at Bourina in Cos might be a reminiscence of her mourning at Callichoros in the *Hymn*. But the verbal parallels are few and not particularly promising.[42]

[38] See A. Faulkner, 'Et in Arcadia Diana: An Encounter with Pan in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*', *CPh* 108 (2013).

[39] See *Fr.* 1–5 (Spanoudakis).

[40] On these similarities, see e.g. K. Spanoudakis, *Philitas of Cos* (Leiden, 2002), 135; Vergados (2013), 65–7.

[41] Spanoudakis (2002), 223–43, for a reconstruction of Philitas' *Demeter*, and esp. 239–40 for the possible affinities with *h.Dem.*

[42] Spanoudakis (2002), 240 lists the following: *Dem. fr.* 17 *λευκόν . . . ἔρι* ~ *h.Dem.* 309/452 *κρῖ λευκόν*; *Dem. fr.* 21 *καί κεν . . .* | *καί κεν* ~ *h.Dem.* 141–4; *Dem. fr.* 21 *Ἐλευσῖνος . . . λόφον* ~ *h.Dem.* 272 Καλλιχόρου . . . *ἐπὶ προύχοντι κολωνῷ*; *Dem. fr.* 10.2 *ὡραίων ἐρχομένων ἐτέων* ~ *h.Dem.* 265 *ὥρησιν . . . περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν*.

Aratus

Aratus, too, shows evidence of his interaction with the *Homeric Hymns*. In *Phaenomena* 30–5 (quoted and discussed in Chapter 9, p. 172), a complex passage that also recalls Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, Aratus echoes *h.Hom.* 26.6 (ἄντρῳ ἐν εὐώδει, 'in the fragrant cave').[43] Furthermore, he recalls the *Hymn to Hermes* in *Phaen.* 268–9, which discuss the constellation of the *Lyra.* There it is said that Hermes constructed his lyre (χέλυς) when he was still in his crib (ἔτι καὶ παρὰ λίκνῳ). The case for the allusion is corroborated by a piece of circumstantial evidence, namely that Aratus, before discussing the constellation *Lyra* describes the Pleiades (one of whom was also Maia, Hermes' mother) using the clausula πότνια Μαῖα, elsewhere found only in *h.Herm.* Characteristically, πότνια Μαῖα appears in Aratus five verses before his mention of χέλυς, just as in the *Hymn* πότνια Μαῖα occurs in v. 19 and is followed by χέλυς in 24.[44] The *Hymn*'s version of Hermes' construction of the lyre is likely to be alluded to also at Nicander, *Alex.* 559–62.[45]

Sotades

In the third century BC we may find a parodistic echo of *h.Herm.* 237–8 (σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ'· ἠύτε πολλὴν | πρέμνων ἀνθρακιὴν ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει, 'as a mass of log embers is concealed under the wood ash') in Sotad.Com. 1.28–9 (ἐσπαργάνωσα περιπάσας ὀρίγανον | ἐνέκρυψά θ' ὥσπερ δαλὸν εἰς πολλὴν τέφραν, 'I have wrapped [*sc.* the bonito] in its swaddling-clothes[46] after sprinkling oregano, and I hid it in the thick ash like a torch').[47]

Apollonius Rhodius

As well, Apollonius Rhodius can be shown to have engaged with the *Homeric Hymns* often with typical Hellenistic *variatio*. Some

[43] Cf. D. Kidd, *Aratus* Phaenomena. *Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1997), 187.
[44] See Kidd (1997), 278; Vergados (2013), 86–7.
[45] See Vergados (2013), 87–8.
[46] i.e. in a fig leaf in which the fish will be cooked *au papillote.*
[47] Vergados (2013), 112.

examples: At 3.482 (*οἵ κέ μιν εἰς Ἑκάτης περικαλλέα νηὸν ἄγοιεν*), *περικαλλέα νηόν* may be a reminiscence of *h.Ap.*, the only earlier hexameter poem in which this phrase occurs (80, 247, 258, and 287, always at verse-end and accompanied by forms of *τεύχειν*).[48] The description of Thetis' attempt to make Achilles immortal at A.R. 4.869–79 owes much to *h.Dem.* 237–53, as Nicholas Richardson has remarked.[49] The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, too, is echoed at several points in the *Argonautica*.[50] A.R. 4.877 (*αὐτὴ δέ, πνοιῇ ἰκέλη δέμας, ἠύτ' ὄνειρος*, 'and she herself, like a breeze in form, like a dream . . . '—trans. Race), in the passage just mentioned, seems to echo *h.Herm.* 147 (*αὔρῃ ὀπωρινῇ ἐναλίγκιος ἠύτ' ὀμίχλη*, 'like an autumn breeze, in the manner of a mist'). It appears thus that Apollonius combines references to two *Homeric Hymns* in the same passage. A.R. 1.365 echoes *h.Herm.* 128 (*λείῳ ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι*, 'onto a smooth slab'): the phrase occurs only in these two poets, both times in the same metrical *sedes*.[51] Hermes' banqueting and bantering young men (*h.Herm.* 55–6) may reappear in A.R. 1.457–9.[52] Just as theogonic song helps reconcile Apollo and Hermes in *h.Herm.* 418–35, likewise Orpheus' theogony in A.R. 1.494–518 stops a quarrel that is about to erupt among the Argonauts. Dry logs are gathered, a fire is lit by means of fire-sticks, and supper is prepared both at *h.Herm.*

[48] The reference to *h.Ap.* is clearer in a scoptic epigram attributed to Lucian (*AP* XI 400). This ironic prayer to Grammatike consists of a pastiche of quotations of, and references to, Homer's *Iliad*, *h.Ap.*, the opening of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, and Archil. *fr.* 331.2: *Ἴλαθι, Γραμματικὴ φυσίζοε, ἵλαθι, λιμοῦ | φάρμακον εὑρομένη 'Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά.' | νηὸν ἐχρῆν καὶ σοὶ περικαλλέα δωμήσασθαι | καὶ βωμὸν θυέων μή ποτε δευόμενον. | καὶ γὰρ σοῦ μεσταὶ μὲν ὁδοί, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα | καὶ λιμένες, πάντων δέκτρια Γραμματική*. What makes the allusion here plausible is the communicative context of the epigram (a mock prayer) and the presence of *δωμήσασθαι* which reminds of *τεύχειν* in *h.Ap.* On this epigram, see G. Nisbet, *Greek Epigram in the Roman Empire: Martial's Forgotten Rivals* (Oxford, 2003), 170–2. On the problem of its attribution (Lucian or Lucillius?), see R. Helm, 'Lukianos', *RE* XIII(2) (1927), 1739–40; B. Baldwin, 'The Epigrams of Lucian', *Phoenix* 29 (1975), 326–7; and now L. Floridi, *Lucillio 'Epigrammi'. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Berlin and Boston, 2014), 80–2.

[49] See Richardson (1974), 69–70 (with 70 n. 1).

[50] See Vergados (2013), 113–17.

[51] See J. J. Clauss, *The Best of the Argonauts. The Redefinition of the Epic Hero in Book 1 of Apollonius'* Argonautica (Berkeley, 1993) and Chapter 3 in this volume.

[52] *h.Herm.* 55–6 *ἠύτε κοῦροι | ἥβηταὶ θαλίῃσι παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν* ('as young men at dinners make ribald interjections') ~ A.R. 1.457–9 *μετέπειτα δ' ἀμοιβαδὶς ἀλλήλοισιν | μυθεῦνθ' οἷά τε πολλὰ νέοι παρὰ δαιτὶ καὶ οἴνῳ | τερπνῶς ἐψιόωνται* ('Afterwards, they told stories to one another in turn, of the kind young men often tell as they enjoy themselves over a meal and wine'—trans. Race).

111–13 and at A.R. 1.1182–4.[53] A disappointed mother chastises her young son in *h.Herm.* 155–61 and A.R. 3.129–53 (Aphrodite to Eros), but Apollonius also uses other parts of the *Hymn*.[54] Finally, A.R. 1.803, 850 (*Κύπριδος, ἥ τέ σφιν θυμοφθόρον ἔμβαλεν ἄτην*, 'of Cypris, who cast into them a soul-destroying infatuation' / *Κύπρις γὰρ ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὦρσε*, 'for Cypris aroused sweet desire') seems to look back to line 2 of *h.Aphr.* (*Κύπριδος, ἥ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὦρσε*, 'who sends sweet longing upon the gods').[55] A. Faulkner also proposes a possible allusion to *h.Aphr.* 7 (*πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατῆσαι*, 'persuade or outwit [*sc.* the minds of Athena, Artemis, and Hestia]') at A.R. 3.152 (*παρέξομαι οὐδ' ἀπατήσω*, 'I will give [*sc.* the gift] and not cheat you', spoken by Aphrodite herself), which, if accepted, would be another case of Apollonius' echoing two *Homeric Hymns* in the same passage.

Callimachus

In addition to the numerous echoes of the *Homeric Hymns* detected in Callimachus' *Hymns*, some of which have been discussed above,[56] there is an echo to *h.Herm.* 155–6, 160–1 (*τίπτε σὺ ποικιλομῆτα, πόθεν τόδε νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ | ἔρχῃ ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε; . . . μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν | θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι*, 'What are you up to, you sly thing, where have you been in the nighttime, with shamelessness as your cloak? . . . Your father has begotten you to be a great nuisance to mortal men and immortal gods') in *Aetia* fr. 177.12–14 Pf. (= *SH* 259.12–14; fr. 54c.12–14 Harder)

[ὀχληροί, τί τόδ'] ᾳ̣ὖ γείτονες ἡμε[τ]έρῳ̣ν
ἤκατ' ἀποκναί̣σοντες, ἐπεὶ μάλα [γ'] οὔτι φέρ̣ε̣[σθε;]
[ξ]εί̣νο̣ι̣ς κωκυμο̣ὺς ἔπλασεν ὔμμε θεός

[53] Cf. *ξύλα κάγκανα* (A.R. 1.1182) ~ *κάγκανα κᾶλα* (*h.Herm.* 112); *πυρήια* (A.R. 1.1184, *h.Herm.* 111).

[54] The verbal echoes: *h.Herm.* 155 *τίπτε σὺ ποικιλομῆτα* ~ A.R. 3.129 *τίπτ' ἐπιμειδιάᾳς*; *h.Herm.* 160 *μεγάλην . . . μέριμναν* ~ A.R. 3.129 *ἄφατον κακόν*; *h.Herm.* 40, 52 *ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα* ~ *A*.R. 3.132 *περικαλλὲς ἄθυρμα* (same *sedes*, though the phrases are not metrically interchangeable); *h.Herm.* 462 *δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω* ~ A.R. 3.152 *ἦ μέν τοι δῶρόν γε παρέξομαι οὐδ' ἀπατήσω*.

[55] See Faulkner (2008), 51.

[56] For more on Callimachus, see pp. 6–9 at the beginning of this chapter.

'Troublesome creatures, why have you come as neighbours to destroy our home, because you will gain absolutely nothing? A god made you into sources of wailing for guests and hosts.'—trans. Harder.[57]

Theocritus

The pseudo-Theocritean poem 25 echoes *h.Herm.* in some places.[58] For example, verse 1, where we hear of Heracles' encounter with an old ploughman (*τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων προσέειπε βοῶν ἐπίουρος ἀροτρεύς*, 'And to him the old ploughman that guarded the cattle made answer'—trans. Gow), is a reference to *h.Herm.* 201 (*τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν*, 'the old man answered him'), these being the only hexameter poems in which a line begins with *τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων* coupled with *προσέειπε*. The allusion is supported by the ploughman's evocation of Hermes in his function as the *einodios* god as his reason for providing information to Heracles.[59] Furthermore, just as the Old Man of Onchestus observes at *h.Herm.* 205 that *χαλεπὸν δὲ δαήμεναί ἐστιν ἕκαστον* ('and it is difficult to know which is which [*sc.* which traveller goes with good and which with ill intent]'), likewise the [Theocritean] old man says *χαλεπὸν δ' ἑτέρου νόον ἴδμεναι ἀνδρός*, 'and hard it is to know another man's mood'—trans. Gow (67). Typically for the Hellenistic poets' reworking of archaic models, [Theocritus] 25.2 (*παυσάμενος ἔργοιο τό οἱ μετὰ χερσὶν ἔκειτο*, 'pausing in the task whereon his hands were busied'—trans. Gow) alludes to Call. *Aetia* fr. 177.15–16 Pf. (= *SH* 259.15–16; fr. 54c.15–16 Harder; [ὧ]ς̣ *ἐνέπων τ̣ὸ̣ [μ]ὲν ἔργον, ὅ ο̣ἱ*

[57] M. A. Harder, *Callimachus*, Aetia, 2 vols (Oxford, 2012), 445. See also Vergados (2013), 118–19; M. A. Seiler, *Ποίησις ποιήσεως. Alexandrinische Dichtung* kata lepton *in strukturaler und humantheologischer Deutung: Kall. fr. 254–268 SH; Theocr. 1,32–54; Theocr. 7; Theocr. 11; 'Theocr.' 25* (Stuttgart, 1997), 93–4.

[58] See Vergados (2013), 119–23.

[59] Cf. 3–6: *ἔκ τοι, ξεῖνε, πρόφρων μυθήσομαι ὅσσ' ἐρεείνεις,* | *Ἑρμέω ἀζόμενος δεινὴν ὄπιν εἰνοδίοιο·* | *τὸν γάρ φασι μέγιστον ἐπουρανίων κεχολῶσθαι,* | *εἴ κε ὁδοῦ ζαχρεῖον ἀνήνηταί τις ὁδίτη* ('Willingly, stranger, will I tell thee all thou askest, for I reverence the awful power of Hermes of the Ways. Beyond other gods is he wroth, men say, if one refuse a traveller that craves direction'). The [Theocritean] ploughman, besides being willing to help Heracles, also knows the answer to what Heracles asks him: cf. 37–8 *ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι σάφα εἰδὼς* | *πάντα μάλ' ἐξείποιμ(ι)* ('I have the knowledge and will tell thee all') and contrast *h.Herm.* 207 *σαφὲς δ' οὐκ οἶδα*, where the Old Man at Onchestus is an 'unhelpful helper' (cf. M. Davies, 'Unhelpful Helpers: Folk-Tale Vestiges in the *Homeric Hymns*', *Prometheus* 32 (2006)). This is a case of *oppositio in imitando*.

μετὰ [χερ]σὶν ἕ[κειτο] | [ῥῶψ]εν, 'speaking thus he gave up the task at hand'), a text that, as we saw earlier, echoes *h.Herm.* as well. In other words, [Theocr.] 25 looks back to *h.Herm.* as well as to another text (Callimachus' *Aetia*) which itself echoed *h.Herm.*[60]

Eratosthenes and Nicander

One might speculate that Eratosthenes alludes to *h.Herm.* in his *Hermes*, where the narrative of Hermes' early career was utilized as an opportunity for Eratosthenes to express his astronomical ideas.[61]

The discussion of the unity of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* appears not to be a modern invention if we consider the practice of Nicander, who, as F. De Martino has suggested, appears to punctuate both the middle and the end of his *Theriaca* with a *sphragis* not unlike the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where the *sphragis* can be thought of as occupying both the final position (with respect to the Delian part) and the middle (with respect to *h.Ap.* as a whole).[62]

Moschus

In the second century BC, a number of verbal and thematic parallels suggest that both the *Hymns* to Demeter and Aphrodite served as models for Moschus' *Europa*, which playfully recounts the seduction of Europa by Zeus in the form of a bull. The willing Europa (as exemplified by the woman of her dream in line 14, οὐκ ἀέκουσαν) contrasts and invites comparison with the unwilling (ἀέκουσαν, 19) Persephone abducted by Hades in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*; both are snatched by a god whilst picking flowers.[63] In the spirited context of Aphrodite instigating a seduction of a mortal woman by Zeus (the very thing that gets her into trouble with Anchises at the

[60] For more on Theocritus, see p. 7 at the beginning of this chapter.

[61] See Vergados (2013), 89–92, for possible references.

[62] See F. De Martino, 'Nicandro e la "questione omerica" dell'inno ad Apollo', *Atene e Roma* 27 (1982a). The internal *sphragis* in Nicander's *Theriaca* is established by means of an acrostic; see A. S. F. Gow, 'Nicander's Signature', *CQ* 22 (1928) and A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield, *Nicander, the Poems and Poetical Fragments, Edited with a Translation and Notes* (Cambridge, 1953) *ad* 343–53 who observe that 'it is placed in the most ornamental passage of the whole poem'.

[63] See M. Campbell, *Moschus' Europa* (Hildesheim, 1991), 6–7.

hands of Zeus), a number of verbal similarities hint also at the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.[64]

MODES AND FORMS OF RECEPTION

Given that the term reception is very much in vogue in contemporary scholarship and can be understood in various ways, an overview of the forms of reception encountered during the studies of the *Homeric Hymns* in this book is in order.

At a basic—though by no means insignificant—level, the manuscript transmission of the *Hymns* constitutes a form of reception which may reveal ancient and medieval scholars' attitudes towards and understanding of the texts. Our understanding of the physical transmission of the *Hymns* in Byzantium is limited, due to the survival of no manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century, but the manuscripts nonetheless provide important testimony for reception after this point. C. Simelidis in Chapter 13 concentrates on John Eugenikos, an active churchman and writer in the first half of the fifteenth century and the scribe of the important M manuscript (Leidensis B.P.G. 33H), which is the only manuscript to contain the long *Hymn to Demeter* and the end of the first *Hymn to Dionysus*. He argues that John consciously selected the *Homeric Hymns* for inclusion in this manuscript, questioning the evidence for supposing that Eugenikos copied an earlier uncial manuscript containing the *Hymns* and sections of the *Iliad*. Otherwise, the *Hymns* are not known to have been transmitted together with the Homeric epics but with other hymnic corpora. Certainly, tracing the manuscripts and first editions

[64] *h.Aphr.* 2. *Κύπριδος, ἥ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὦρσε* ~ *Eur.* 76 *Κύπριδος, ἣ μούνη δύναται καὶ Ζῆνα δαμάσσαι* and 1 *Εὐρώπη ποτὲ Κύπρις ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἧκεν ὄνειρον*; *h.Aphr.* 38. *καί τε τοῦ εὖτ' ἐθέλῃ πυκινὰς φρένας ἐξαπαφοῦσα* ~ *Eur.* 78 *παρθενικῆς τ' ἐθέλων ἀταλὸν νόον ἐξαπατῆσαι*; *h.Aphr.* 81. *στῇ δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε* ~ *Eur.* 93 [*Ζεύς*] *στῆ δὲ ποδῶν προπάροιθεν ἀμύμονος Εὐρωπείης* (although cf. *Il.* 14. 297); *h.Aphr.* 156. *ἔρπε μεταστρεφθεῖσα [ἐς λέχος]* ~ *Eur.* 111 *ἣ δὲ μεταστρεφθεῖσα φίλας καλέεσκεν ἑταίρας*; *h.Aphr.* 193 ~ *Eur.* 154; *h.Aphr.* 196–7 ~ *Eur.* 160–1. See Janko (1982), 268 n. 1; Campbell (1991) *ad loc.*; Faulkner (2008), 51 and *ad loc.* In light of these many verbal similarities, combined with the erotic thematic correspondence, the probability that the *Hymn to Demeter* is also a model, and the highly allusive nature of the poem, Olson (2012), 25–6, is laboured in his scepticism that Moschus knew the *Hymn*.

of the poems informs knowledge of and engagement with the *Hymns* by Italian humanists. As O. Thomas points out in Chapter 15, the production and circulation of manuscripts provide an important window on fifteenth-century humanism. In Chapter 16, M. E. Schwab explores Poliziano's engagement with the *Hymns* in his *Stanze per la Giostra* in the context of fifteenth-century Florence, just before the first printed edition of Homer and the *Hymns*.

In Chapter 18, A. Schwab notes that the rediscovery of M at the end of the eighteenth century stimulated philological work and shows in the case of the German scholar J. H. Voss's commentary on the then newly discovered *Hymn to Demeter* how commentaries are yet another important form of textual reception. A commentary determines in many ways how future generations receive the text,[65] and in the case of Voss's commentary on the *Hymn to Demeter* the philological explication of the text is bound up with both explicit and implicit cultural assumptions, as well as contemporary ideas on religion, while it offers precious insights into the philological quarrels in Heidelberg at the height of German Romanticism. Translation or paraphrase is another aspect of the *Hymns*' reception which reflects contemporary literary and cultural ideals, as N. Richardson examines in the case of the English poets in Chapter 17, an issue with which M. E. Schwab also grapples in considering Poliziano's close reworking of *Hymn* 6 to Aphrodite.

Identifying and defining less explicit instances of the *Hymns*' reception in ancient literature is a complicated task. The recurrence of words or word-patterns found in a *Homeric Hymn* and in later texts does not by itself constitute strong evidence for the presence of conscious reception, especially given the significant overlap between the language of the *Hymns* and the Homeric epics. A verbal similarity may also simply be the product of an unconscious reminiscence of a text the author read or heard, perhaps even within a school context,[66] and may consequently have no further point. But even the search for motifs and themes does not necessarily yield conclusive results since

[65] Cf. C. S. Kraus, 'Introduction: Reading Commentaries/Commentaries as Reading', in R. K. Gibson and C. S. Kraus (eds), *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory* (Leiden, 2002).

[66] On the possibility that the *Hymns* were included in the school curriculum, see section on Imperial and Late Antique Literature and chapters 2 and 12.

we may be dealing sometimes with widespread stories and story-patterns or the reflection of generic hymnal *topoi* and vocabulary which by themselves do not provide evidence on which to build a good case for reception.

It is safer to look for verbal parallels combined with thematic elements or motifs that 'are susceptible of interpretation, or meaningful',[67] in order to argue persuasively for the presence of reception. As has been argued several times, especially in the study of intertextuality in Roman poetry,[68] an allusion (or reference) to an earlier author is rarely an 'innocent' reminiscence of an earlier author. By reactivating an intertext, an allusion offers some kind of interpretation of the predecessor's work or at least an attitude towards the literary model or precedent. Rather than simply imitating a predecessor (*imitatio*), a poet might strive to surpass his predecessor's achievement (*aemulatio*). For example, a later poet might discover a 'gap' in the predecessor's narrative which he now fills, as J. F. Miller argues in Chapter 5 on Ovid's reception of the seventh *Hymn to Dionysus*; Ovid extends the mythological continuum by giving centre stage to the helmsman, a relatively minor character in the earlier tradition who updates his own tale.

Reception of a particular text or performance cannot be treated as if in a vacuum. At times a poet might reflect a *Homeric Hymn* as well as the work of an intermediary who had himself referred to the same *Hymn* (what has been called by Richard Thomas a 'window reference'). This process is explored in Chapter 3 by J. Clauss, who argues that Virgil's allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* take up the question of political authority introduced by Callimachus in his own allusion to the same *Homeric Hymn* in his *Hymn to Zeus*. Such an approach enriches our appreciation of Virgil's engagement with the *Homeric Hymn*, yet it also raises an important question: did Virgil read the *Hymn to Hermes* as a text already loaded with political implications or did he acknowledge this as a specific Callimachean contribution to the interpretation of the archaic poem? A. Keith

[67] Thomas (1986), 174.

[68] See e.g. S. E. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998), esp. 17–25; T. K. Hubbard, *The Pipes of Pan. Intertextuality and Literary Filiation in the Pastoral Tradition from Theocritus to Milton* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998), 7–18; B. Acosta-Hughes, *Arion's Lyre. Archaic Lyric into Hellenistic Poetry* (Princeton, NJ, 2010), 4–8.

also points to the importance of Callimachus' hymns for Virgil and Ovid in Chapter 6. Indeed, whether implicit or explicit, all Latin and post-Hellenistic reception of the *Hymns* must take into account earlier reception of the poems and developments in the broader hymnographical and literary tradition. Along similar lines, Aelius Aristides' use of the term *prooimion* as a designation of the *Hymns* on the one hand recalls the Thucydidean quotation of the *Hymn to Apollo* and probably also Pindaric usage; on the other hand it conforms to Aristides' understanding of how the *Hymns* were recited in archaic and Classical times. In this case, as A. Vergados considers in Chapter 9, reception becomes a sort of cultural reconstruction as well.

The reception of the *Homeric Hymns* takes other forms as well. An author like Lucian alludes to the *Hymns* but in combination with other genres so as to produce a kind of pastiche, as elucidated by P. Strolonga in Chapter 8. Besides the obvious case of *Gattungsmischung*, Lucian's engagement with the *Hymns* raises the intriguing question of how he perceived the generic affiliations of these *Hymns*. In the case of his dialogues involving *Hermes*, for example, did he have in mind the *Hymn*'s influence upon Sophocles' satyric theatre and perhaps also other satyr or comic plays dealing with the theme of the gods' births (*θεῶν γοναί*)? And what does this kind of reception imply about Lucian's criticism of religion? In other words, are we allowed to read these allusions independently of his other works in which he subjects his society's beliefs to hard criticism? Be that as it may, it is fair to say that allusions and references to the earlier poems are a way for an author like Lucian to distance himself from, and critique, his literary model.

In addition, an author's use of a hymnic 'tag' may not just signal his recollection of a poetic predecessor but may resonate with contemporary hymnic practice.[69] For instance, Aelius Aristides' use of *πάντως δὲ πολυύμνητος εἶ* (*Or.* 40.1) in his prose *Hymn to Heracles* does double duty: on the one hand, it is part of a clever intertextual play that involves also the circumstances of the Aristidean *Hymn*'s performance (it is delivered in front of the temple of Apollo, hence an allusion to the *Hymn to Apollo* 19/27 *πάντως εὔυμνον* is not out of place). At the same time this Apolline 'tag' resonates with the hymnal

[69] For the concept of the 'tag', cf. R. L. Hunter, *Hesiodic Voices: Studies in the Ancient Reception of Hesiod's* Works and Days (Cambridge, 2014), 15–16, who discusses 'Hesiodic tags' in later texts.

practice of Aristides' times, in which gods are generally πολυύμνητοι. Put another way, an item of contemporary, widely used hymnal vocabulary is given further temporal depth by being linked with the Homeric ἐΰυμνος god *par excellence*.

Furthermore, an author's engagement with the *Homeric Hymns* might be shaped by his own religious practices or beliefs. For instance, as R. M. van den Berg argues in Chapter 11, Proclus' reworking of the long *Hymn to Aphrodite* can be linked to his theurgical practices. The Orphic hymns and the hymns of the magical papyri, two later collections of hexameter hymns, must also be understood within the context of their particular religious and ritual traditions. Strings of epithets in both cases fulfil particular functions and differentiate these hymns from the style of the *Homeric Hymns*, which are not quoted or obviously echoed in the two corpora. In such collections of later hexameter hymns, where one might expect to find overt reference to the *Homeric Hymns*, the very absence of unambiguous engagement takes on significance, as a possible indication not only of authorial priorities but also of the authority and distribution of the *Hymns* in these milieux. In the case of the Orphic hymns, at least, we can say that the *Hymns* are elsewhere linked overtly to Orphic tradition: an Orphic papyrus of the mid-first century BC (*Orph.* fr. 383 Bernabé = 49 Kern) quotes or adapts passages of the *Hymn to Demeter*, there ascribed to Orpheus.[70] It may nonetheless be possible, although with less certainty, to speak of reception of the *Hymns* in these cases.

The volume also considers the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in art. In Chapter 2 Clay begins with a discussion of the theoretical relationship of image and text and previous studies of the representation of Homeric material on Greek vases. There is always the question of whether the images we have can be said to illustrate the Homeric poems that have come down to us. Instead of speaking of the 'illustration of stories', as does Small,[71] Clay argues for an approach which considers the 'representation' of stories equally influenced by traditions, evolutions, and development of the artistic medium, but also, with Squire,[72] recognizing that the interactions

[70] See Richardson (1974), 66–7.
[71] J. P. Small, *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* (Cambridge, 2003), 6.
[72] M. Squire, *Image and Text in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2009), 134.

between ancient images and viewers involved dynamic processes involving verbal stories and other images.

PERIODS OF RECEPTION AND OVERVIEW OF CONTRIBUTIONS

This book is divided into five sections, each of which presents case studies on a period, mode, or tradition of reception of the *Homeric Hymns*. There is no single principle determining the division of the chapters into the different sections, although we have grouped contributions to an extent according to language and chronology, which we felt has the advantage at times of focusing attention on a particular tradition or cultural context of reception, such as in the case of Latin literature. For practical purposes, it seemed that some division of chapters into groups would help readers find their way around the book. This notwithstanding, such divisions are by no means intended to suggest absolute categories. Cornutus, to cite the obvious example in J. B. Torres' chapter (Chapter 10), sits at the crossroads of Greek and Roman traditions, as of course do Horace, Virgil, and Ovid in their own extensive engagement with Greek literature. A workshop held in Heidelberg in June 2014, at which contributors discussed pre-circulated drafts of the chapters, has encouraged interaction between the chapters that goes beyond superficial cross-references *post scriptum*. This, combined with the discussion above of different modes and forms of reception of the *Homeric Hymns* treated in the volume and the summary of contributions below, will help and encourage readers to tie the individual chapters together.

Narrative and Art

In the first section, J. S. Clay's study of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Greek vase painting in Chapter 2 provides the first thorough study of the interaction of hymnic narrative and art. As indicated above, in contrast to the other chapters in the volume, which focus upon Latin and post-Hellenistic Greek literature, this contribution examines the interaction with art in the archaic and Classical periods, an undertaking justified by the need for a synoptic exploration of this topic. Clay provides close readings of archaic and Classical vases

whose painters may have been influenced by the *Hymns*, while briefly reviewing recent scholarship on the relation between text and image in antiquity.

Latin Literature

The section on the *Homeric Hymns* in Latin literature consists of five studies on Augustan poetry focusing on Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. It seems certain that the *Homeric Hymns* were important models for these three poets, and potentially also for other Latin authors of the late republic and early empire. In the cases of Ovid and Virgil,[73] the evidence for the reception of the *Hymns* goes beyond isolated references to individual poems and suggests knowledge of a collection of the longer narrative *Hymns*. Càssola has suggested that Philodemus, who quotes from the *Hymns*, may have brought the collection to Rome.[74] This is, as A. Keith suggests in Chapter 6, an attractive idea, although it is impossible to know for certain. It is also notable that, to judge from the evidence adduced thus far, the *Homeric Hymns* to Aphrodite and Hermes proved particularly popular in this period. The motivation for interest in a narrative about the birth and divine lineage of Aeneas in the Roman context is obvious, although the playful nature of the two *Hymns* to Aphrodite and Hermes may also explain their popularity amongst Augustan poets. Lucretius' hymn to Aphrodite at the outset of *De Rerum Natura* has points of contact with the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and it could be that he had access to a collection of the *Hymns*.[75] P. Heslin has recently suggested that reunion of Aeneas at the age of five with his father Anchises, as prophesied by Aphrodite at the end of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (lines 273–7), was depicted at Pompeii (as sketched by Rossini).[76]

In his chapter on Virgil, J. Clauss explores the episode of Hercules and Cacus in *Aeneid* 8 and its engagement with earlier models in Chapter 3, in particular the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Callimachus'

[73] As pointed out by Barchiesi (1999) in the case of Ovid. See also Chapter 6 in this volume.

[74] F. Càssola, 'Inni omerici', in M. Geymonat and F. Della Corte (eds), *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, Vol. 2 (Rome, 1984); a theory supported by Olson (2011), n. 11.

[75] See Chapter 6, n. 29.

[76] P. Heslin, *The Museum of Augustus: The Temple of Apollo in Pompeii, the Portico of Philippus, and Roman Poetry* (Los Angeles, CA, 2015), 123–6.

Hymn to Zeus, and Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, as well as the treatment of the Hercules–Cacus episode in Livy, Propertius, and Ovid.

S. Harrison next traces the influence of the *Homeric Hymns* and their poetic tradition on Horace's *Odes* and the *Carmen Saeculare* in Chapter 4. He shows that the key plots of the longer *Hymns* (to Hermes, Aphrodite, Demeter, Pan, and Dionysus) seem to be used on a number of occasions, though without extensive re-narration. Concerning the brief hymns, he suggests that these shorter pieces offered particularly attractive models for Horatian lyrics of similar length and shows that the *Carmen Saeculare* owes some of its framework to the *Homeric Hymns*. His suggestion that Horace alludes to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* through the *Aeneid* at the conclusion of *Odes* 4.15 finds a connection with A. Keith's observation that Ovid receives the *Hymns* in part through Virgil.

Three studies then explore Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In Chapter 5, J. F. Miller considers the tale of Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates from *Hymn* 7, which (in *Met.* 3) Ovid folds into his version of Pentheus vs Bacchus at Thebes. He observes how Ovid refashions the *Hymn*'s narrative through manoeuvres typical of the *Metamorphoses*: narrative doubling, story within a story, sudden shifts of speaker, filling in gaps in mythical history, and generic mixing. In Chapter 6, A. Keith investigates the impact of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in the Latin poetry of the Augustan age, especially Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5. She suggests that Ovid's marked allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* through Virgilian intertexts implicitly credit Virgil with a special prominence in the transmission of the *Homeric Hymns* into Latin literature. In Chapter 7, J. S. Nethercut treats Ovid's Hercules episode in the *Metamorphoses* (9.1–323), touched on also by J. Clauss. He argues that the episode interacts with the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and that the narrative dynamics in the Hercules episode suggest that Ovid was aware of the structural issues inherent in the *Hymn*: Ovid rearranges material from the Pythian and Delian parts of the *Hymn* in ways that suggest that he may have anticipated the modern reading of these two parts as different compositions.

Imperial and Late Antique Literature

Eight chapters offer case studies of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Greek literature of the Imperial and Late Antique periods, not only in poetry but also in prose works such as Lucian's dialogues,

Aelius Aristides' prose hymns, and Cornutus' mythographical handbook. The prose reception of the *Hymns* quite obviously crosses generic boundaries and we see in Second Sophistic authors such as Aelius Aristides and Lucian an awareness of the *Hymns* as a component in an exploration and redefinition of generic affiliations. The identification of reception of poetry in prose can rely on language, but perhaps places more weight on the subtleties of mythological and narrative content. Aelius Aristides shows direct knowledge of the *Hymns* in his prose hymns, and we have seen above that Pausanias quotes from the *Hymns*. Lucian may have had direct knowledge of Pausanias,[77] and it is certainly possible that he too was familiar with the *Hymns* firsthand, although he does not quote them.

In Imperial poetry too there are traces of the *Hymns*. Echoes are found in the *Periegesis of the Known World* by Dionysius of Alexandria, a poem of Hadrianic date which not infrequently evokes the hymnic tradition.[78] We can be certain that Proclus was familiar with the *Hymns*, but evidence for reception elsewhere in these periods is more delicate. There seem to be traces of the *Hymns* in Late Antique and Christian classicizing poetry, and G. Agosti suggests that they may have formed part of the school curriculum in this period. As noted above, in the fifth century BC an Attic lekythos (*c.*470 BC) depicts a boy holding a papyrus roll, on which is written the opening of *Hymn* 18 (*Ἑρμῆν ἀείδω*), a possible indication of school use. In the Imperial period, the second-century AD *P.Oxy.* 68.4667 quotes lines 4–18 of *Hymn* 18 and lines 1–11 of *Hymn* 7 to Dionysus, in that order with two lines of prose in between. The context of this papyrus is not clear, but the third-century AD *P.Oxy.* 7.1015 contains a hymn to Hermes written by a pupil, whose content has some connection to the *Hymn to Hermes*.

Within the area of Imperial prose, in Chapter 8, P. Strolonga investigates the influence of the *Homeric Hymns* on Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* with a particular focus on those dialogues which seem to be based on episodes or dialogues in the four longer *Homeric Hymns*. She argues that Lucian crafts a hybrid genre influenced by the

[77] See J. L. Lightfoot, *Lucian on the Syrian Goddess* (Oxford, 2003), 218.

[78] See J. L. Lightfoot, *Dionysius Periegetes: Description of the Known World* (Oxford, 2014), 35; 308 on *Perieg.* 210 *οὓς Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντας ἀπώλεσεν Αὐσονὶς αἰχμή* ~ *h.Ap.* 279 *οἳ Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάασκον*, and 380 on *Perieg.* 518 *ῥώονθ' ἑξείης* ~ *h.Aphr.* 261 *χορὸν ῥώσασθαι*.

Homeric Hymns and describes this process as a 'transposition', suggesting that Lucian parodies not only the gods themselves, but also the praise rhetoric that is echoed in the major *Homeric Hymns*. In Chapter 9, A. Vergados explores the evidence in Aelius Aristides' prose hymns that he knew the *Homeric Hymns*. He suggests that Aristides' engagement with the *Hymns* ranges from general reflection of a mythological story to intricate allusions and 'window references'. J. B. Torres dedicates his study in Chapter 10 to Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, the Roman author who wrote in Greek an allegorical compendium of Greek theology in the first century AD. Torres pays attention to some passages which exhibit a particular knowledge of the major *Hymns* to Demeter and Hermes. In his discussion of the vexed question of the sources used by Cornutus, Torres shows that Cornutus' knowledge of the Hymns derived at least in part from Apollodorus as an intermediary source.

Turning to verse, in his contribution on Proclus (AD 412–85) in Chapter 11, the influential head of the Neoplatonic school of Athens, R. M. van den Berg explores how Proclus' hymns and the *Hymn to Ares* both provide small glimpses of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Late Antiquity, each in their own way. He furthermore makes the case that Proclus' adaptation of bits of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* was probably motivated by his theurgical beliefs. In Chapter 12, G. Agosti studies the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in some pagan and Christian poets of Late Antiquity. He observes that the *Homeric Hymns*, generally speaking, do not constitute a model for the rich hymnic production of Late Antiquity, but that they have been considered rather a helpful source for expressions of praise and for epithets, or simply epic tags.

Byzantine Literature

The fate of the *Homeric Hymns* in Byzantium is murky. We know that manuscripts of the *Hymns* existed, but none of these has survived. Nor are there any explicit references to the *Hymns* in Byzantine literature, due in part, no doubt, to a certain opposition between pagan hymns and Christian faith, with its own tradition of hymnography. In Chapter 13, C. Simelidis discusses some examples which indicate that the *Homeric Hymns* were read by the Byzantines, but also points out the difficulties involved in identifying secure allusions

to or echoes of the *Homeric Hymns*. A. Faulkner then examines in Chapter 14 the *Carmina Historica* of the twelfth-century author Theodoros Prodromos, who was active in the court of the Komnenoi. He makes the case that Prodromos in his hexameter poetry echoes the *Hymns*, at times their style and structure, but in one case through an echo of a specific passage of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.

Renaissance and Modern Literature

The final section of the book turns to fifteenth-century Italy, as well as reception in German scholarship and English poetry of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Here, as discussed above, the assessment of the *Homeric Hymns*' influence is on firmer ground, aided by knowledge of their physical transmission. Two chapters look at Italian humanists. First, O. Thomas comments in Chapter 15 on marginal annotations in some manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns*, before focusing on reception of these poems in two Italian humanists: Filelfo (1398–1481), who learnt Greek with John Chrysoloras, and the poet Michael Marullus (1453–1500), who attempted seriously to recreate pagan hymnography in the Renaissance drawing not only on the *Homeric Hymns*, but also on Callimachus, Cleanthes, the *Orphica*, Proclus, Julian, and many other sources. In Chapter 16, in her study on the Italian poet Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), who was also one of the most brilliant scholars of his time, M. E. Schwab focuses on the *Stanze per la Giostra*, regarding it not just as a source for Botticelli's masterpiece 'The Birth of Venus', but instead exploring it as an important testimony for the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in fifteenth-century Florence.

The volume concludes with two case studies which shed light on the influence of the *Homeric Hymns* on the English poets and German scholarship of the nineteenth century. In Chapter 17, N. Richardson considers the *Homeric Hymns* as seen through the eyes of three English poets: Chapman, Congreve, and Shelley. He illuminates their interest and modes of reception, first looking at George Chapman (d.1634), Shakespeare's contemporary and the first poet to translate all the works ascribed to Homer into English, including the *Hymns*. Richardson shows that Shelley's pleasure in the *Homeric Hymns* led him to translate them at different times of his brief life and that he gained inspiration for his own works from

translating these poems. A. Schwab then studies in Chapter 18 the impact of the rediscovered manuscript of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* at the end of the eighteenth century in Moscow, giving particular attention to the German translator and commentator Johann Heinrich Voss. Voss was responsible for the first Latin translation of the *Hymn* and among the first who translated the text into German, but he also dared to write the first commentary on the poem in German. Schwab explores how Voss approached the 'Eleusinian document' with the particular concerns of his time.

Part I

Narrative and Art

2

Visualizing Divinity

The Reception of the Homeric Hymns *in Greek Vase Painting*

Jenny Strauss Clay

The relation of image to text has been debated at least since Lessing, who in his *Laocoon* argued for the superiority of poetry to visual representation.[1] Of late, there has been much discussion focusing especially on the representation of Homeric material on Greek vases and whether the images we have can be said to illustrate the Homeric epics that have come down to us.[2] Small refers to 'the parallel worlds of art and text' and has argued that one should not speak of illustration of texts, but rather of illustration of stories.[3] Better I think would be to use the term 'representation' of a story that is equally influenced

[1] M. Squire, *Image and Text in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2009), 15–193, offers a penetrating analysis and critical history of this issue. I preface my remarks by confessing that, while I welcomed the possibility of viewing the *Homeric Hymns* from a different angle, I also acknowledge my inadequacy in the field of art, ancient or modern. I have, however, received generous advice from my colleague, Tyler Jo Smith, as well as immensely helpful technical support from Veronica Ikeshoji-Orlati, PhD candidate at the University of Virginia. I am also grateful to Malcolm Bell III and Alan Shapiro who read the typescript and made valuable comments.

[2] e.g. A. Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists: Text and Picture in Early Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1998); S. Lowenstam, *As Witnessed by Images: The Trojan War Tradition in Greek and Etruscan Art* (Baltimore, 2008); also H. A. Shapiro, *Myth into Art: Poet and Painter in Classical Greece* (London and New York, 1994); L. Giuliani, *Image and Myth: A History of Pictorial Narration in Greek Art* (Chicago, IL, 2013).

[3] J. P. Small, *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* (Cambridge, 2003), 6: '*Artists were illustrating stories, not texts*' (italics in original).

by the traditions, evolutions, and development of the artistic medium, in our case vase painting; all discussions must respect these generic boundaries and conditions. Nevertheless, as Michael Squire points out:

> Even in the sixth and fifth centuries, texts functioned rather like myths that could be modified, reinvented, elaborated, expanded and even subverted in the re-telling. Anachronistic notions of illustration, in short, detract from the dynamic processes of interaction between ancient images and viewers—the ways in which viewers made sense of images in light of both verbal stories and other images depicting related scenes.[4]

Here is neither the time nor place to offer a far-ranging theoretical discussion nor to catalogue all images that may be related to the *Homeric Hymns*. My aim is far simpler: to look at a few examples from Greek vase painting of images that may have some relationship to the *Homeric Hymns* and to stimulate discussion concerning the means and modes of visual representation of narrative elements found in the *Hymns*. But I want to emphasize an added but important consideration. In addition to the general questions of the visual representation of mythological narratives, the *Homeric Hymns* (and I am talking here mainly of the long ones) offer special problems in representing divine epiphanies within a narrative framework. Although their performance context is not generally thought of as involving cult or sacred ritual, nevertheless through their narratives the *Hymns* make manifest the divinity they celebrate. On the simplest level, this making present of the god becomes manifest in the shift from the third person narrative to the final second person χαῖρε, which signals that the god has arrived by the end of the composition dedicated to him. In their own way, the vases I examine—the famous Exekias cup of Dionysus and the dolphins, the name vase of the Persephone Painter, and several representations of Hermes' cattle theft—suggest that the vase painters may have been familiar with the hymnic accounts, but chose to interpret them indirectly rather than attempting to give a 'literal' version, while nevertheless maintaining the spirit of the narrative by making the god manifest.

I begin from an Attic lekythos attributed to the Cartellino Painter (Fig. 2.1) recently sold at Sotheby's and dated to around 470:[5] a boy is

[4] Squire (2009), 134.

[5] Cf. J. D. Beazley, '*Hymn to Hermes*', *AJA* 52 (1948) and H. R. Immerwahr, 'Book Rolls on Attic Vases', in C. Henderson (ed.), *Classical, Mediaeval, and Renaissance*

Fig. 2.1. Red-figure Lekythos, Cartellino Painter, *c.*470 BC.
Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, Inc.

sitting with a scroll that contains the words Ἑρμῆν ἀείδω which matches the opening of the eighteenth *Homeric Hymn* that in turn seems to be a compressed version of our longer *h.Herm.* (*h.Hom.* 4) with a variant first line:

> Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν,
> Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου . . .

If the eighteenth *Hymn* is a truncated version of the longer composition, its diffusion as a school text at this early date would strengthen arguments for a sixth-century date for the latter.[6] It also opens up the

Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman (Rome, 1964) and 'More Book Rolls on Attic Vases', *AK* 16 (1973) for vases containing inscribed rolls.

[6] On the dating of *h.Herm.* 4, see A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 130–49, who opts for the second half of the sixth century.

Fig. 2.2. Black-figure Coral Red Kylix, Exekias, *c*.530 BC.
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possibility that some of the other *Homeric Hymns*, including the long ones, were already widely known in Athens at the beginning of the fifth century as school texts.

Let me open my discussion with the famous cup of Exekias, an image that graces the covers of a recent translation of the *Homeric Hymns*.[7] A good many scholars have argued that the beautiful kylix in Munich (Fig. 2.2) is closely connected to the seventh *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysus, but other voices have expressed doubts about such an equation. The *Hymn* recounts how Tyrrhenian pirates bound and kidnapped Dionysus; when his bonds would not hold, the helmsman realized he must be some god, but the others would not heed him. Suddenly—*thaumata erga*!—wine floods the boat, and ivy and vines heavy with grapes sprout over the mast; the terrified sailors make for

[7] Penguin Classics, translated by J. Cashman with introduction and notes by N. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymns* (London, 2003).

shore as the mysterious stranger turns into a bear and a lion. In terror the sailors leap overboard and are changed into dolphins, but the helmsman is spared as Dionysus reveals himself. Exekias' cup, however, presents only a huge Dionysus, a drinking horn in his hand, reclining on the deck of a ship whose mast is completely entwined with vines and grapes, while around the boat seven dolphins frolic. While noting the similarities between the hymn and the cup—Dionysus on board ship, the vines draping the ship, and the dolphins surrounding the boat—Henrichs emphasizes the differences and argues that Exekias missed 'the whole point of the *Hymn* . . . the triumph of Dionysos over mortals who fail to recognize his divinity'.[8] He further points to the absence of the helmsman and the dolphins who seem to be 'just that, dolphins, with no trace of their former state',[9] unlike the semi-human dolphins found elsewhere. Csapo has in fact argued that even those *Mischwesen*, while often found in Dionysiac contexts, have little to do with the *Hymn*, but rather represent in their leaping movements the dance, specifically the Dionysiac dance *par excellence*, the dithyramb.[10] Henrichs goes on to argue that the Exekias kylix should rather be understood within the context of the symposium, which is often compared to a ship sailing on a sea of wine. In the course of drinking from the cup, the symposiast would first glimpse the dolphins, leaping from the sea of wine, and then the epiphany of the god himself, with his drinking horn, reclining like the company, on a magical ship sailing the wine-dark sea—of wine.[11] Moore, on the other hand, notes that the Exekias cup has no parallels and that Exekias himself seems to have stayed aloof from the more boisterous aspects of Dionysus and his

[8] A. Henrichs, 'Myth Visualized: Dionysos and His Circle in Sixth-Century Attic Vase-Painting', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1987), 109. For a fuller discussion and bibliography concerning the cup's relation to the story of the Tyrrhenian pirates, see now D. Paleothodoros, 'Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian Pirates', in V. Bellelli (ed.), *Le origini degli Etruschi: Storia Archeologia Antropologia* (Rome, 2012), 462–3. He also gives an overview of all pictorial representations up to the Roman period that may be related to the myth.

[9] Henrichs (1987), 110.

[10] E. Csapo, 'The Dolphins of Dionysos', in E. Csapo and M. Miller (eds), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis: The Social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece. Essays in Honour of William J. Slater* (Oxford, 2003).

[11] Henrichs (1987), 110–11. Recently, E. A. Mackay, *Tradition and Originality: A Study of Exekias* (Oxford, 2010), 232–9 also rejects a connection between the *Hymn to Dionysus* and Exekias' cup, suggesting a link to the ship–cart iconography of Dionysus, Dionysus' arrival from Naxos, and the Anthesteria festival.

entourage, despite their great popularity. She is, as she says, 'reluctant to dismiss entirely the association of this scene with the hymn'[12]—as am I. Convinced of the connection of the cup with the story of the Tyrrhenian pirates, Paleothodoros notes that it 'is the only picture in extant vase-painting where Dionysus himself is explicitly and directly associated with dolphins'. On the other hand, he insists that 'the deviations from the *Homeric hymn* are too numerous and important to allow for a direct dependence of the Munich cup to the poem'.[13]

It is, however, widely acknowledged that Exekias often displays an unconventional take on stock scenes, and he is recognized for his innovative and unique images, of which our cup is one. His elegance, simplicity, and concentration on the essentials of the scene bring us back to the question of the relation of his Dionysus to the seventh *Homeric Hymn*. That relation is clearly not illustration. Rather, I suggest, it represents in its visual intensity a depiction of the god's epiphany in the calm moment *after* the events of the *Hymn*'s narrative, *after* the violent resistance to the god has subsided, even *after* the awe and terror of his epiphany (as a bear and lion in the *Hymn*!); and as his huge body emerges for the symposiast who drinks from the cup, the god remains, serenely reclining on his ship, tranquilly asserting and basking in his divinity.[14]

I turn now to the name vase of the Persephone Painter, an Attic bell krater depicting the *anodos* of Persephone dated to the middle of the fifth century and presently at the Metropolitan Museum. Side B (Fig. 2.3a) presents two men facing a woman standing between them. The man on the left holds a *phiale* in the direction of the woman who turns toward him; on the right the man holds a sceptre. None of the

[12] M. B. Moore, 'The Amasis Painter and Exekias: Approaches to Narrative', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, CA, 1987), 155. Cf. T. Kossatz and A. Kossatz-Deißmann, 'Martin von Wagner, Dionysos und die Seeräuber', in H. Froning et al. (eds), *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon* (Mainz, 1992), 469: 'Nur indirect mit dem Seeräuberabenteuer zu verbinden ist die Exekiasschale in München', and also that the cup 'wirkt wie eine Reminiszenz an dieses Wunder'.

[13] Paleothodoros (2012), 463.

[14] Cf. G. Hedreen, 'The Semantics of Processional Dithyramb: Pindar's *Second Dithyramb* and Archaic Athenian Vase-Painting', in B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson (eds), *Dithyramb in Context* (Oxford, 2013), 190 who notes that the cup 'can be understood as depicting Dionysos, sailing over the sea, at the moment when his triumph over the pirates is complete'. Also H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult Under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989), 89: 'it is the moment after, the god serene after effortlessly disposing of his would-be assailants, the transformation of the hapless pirates already complete'.

figures has a particular attribute, so there is no reason to attempt to name them. I draw attention only to one minor detail: the woman holds an *oinochoe* in her right hand, which is depicted frontally, as if ready to pour in the direction of the viewer. I will return to this detail later. The subject of side A (Fig. 2.3b), the *anodos* of Persephone, is not a common theme in vase painting,[15] and to my knowledge no other vase has quite the same configuration of characters, whose names here are inscribed. Hekate and Hermes do appear in a few related vases, but there seem to be additional characters present, frequently satyrs.[16] I chose this image for the cover of my *Politics of Olympus* book because I was persuaded that the subject was indeed drawn from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, even though in the *Hymn*, Persephone is driven back to her mother by Hermes on a chariot (377–9). Our painter adopted the far more dramatic depiction, an epiphanic moment, by having Persephone rising from a cleft in the ground.[17] Her mouth is open proclaiming 'her amazement and pleasure as she returns to light and life and of course to her mother'.[18] But the most remarkable figure on this vase is without a doubt the beautiful full-frontal Hermes (Fig. 2.3c).

A fair amount of work has been done on frontal faces in vase painting, but I have found nothing that discusses this particular figure. Korshak and, subsequently, Frontisi-Ducroux (1989) only deal with vases painted before 490.[19] But even in her 1995 book, although she treats later periods, Frontisi-Ducroux never mentions our vase.[20] In an old (1915) discussion of frontality that included later red-figure vases, Hoernes also ignores our vase (did he know it?); more significantly, our Hermes does not seem to fit any of his

[15] See C. Edwards, 'The Running Maiden from Eleusis and the Image of Hekate', *AJA* 90 (1986), 313–14.

[16] Hermes is sometimes depicted in the underworld with Hades and Persephone, presumably either announcing Zeus' decision to return Persephone or in the course of escorting her back to the upper world.

[17] For possible parallels, see C. Bérard, *Anodoi. Essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens* (Rome, 1974), 129–39, whose catalogue, in my opinion, only manages to bring out the uniqueness of the New York krater.

[18] Malcolm Bell *per litteras*.

[19] Y. Korshak, *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Chicago, IL, 1987) and F. Frontisi-Ducroux, 'In the Mirror of the Mask', in C. Bérard et al. (eds), *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, NJ, 1989).

[20] F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage: Aspects de l'identité en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1995).

Fig. 2.3a/b. Red-figure Bell Krater, Side B, Persephone Painter, *c.*440 BC.
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Fig. 2.3c. Red-figure Bell Krater, Persephone Painter, *c.*440 BC. Detail.
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categories nor his generalizations that frontality implies great physical or emotional effort or suffering.[21] To be sure, the meaning and frequency of frontal faces change in the classical period, and it is clear that many contemporary painters engaged in experiments involving frontality and even three-quarter views. But I do not believe that our Hermes constitutes merely a technical tour de force. Recently, Mackay has argued that epic apostrophes ('then you, Menelaos . . . ') have an effect analogous to the use of frontal faces in black-figure vases; with this technique she observes:

> the painter can direct the attention of his viewers, and to some extent manipulate their emotional reaction to his scene, whether towards joy

[21] M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa von den Anfängen bis um 500 v. Chr.*, 2nd edn (Vienna, 1915), 597–601.

> or sadness. In each case, the conceptual barrier between the depicted and the observer is dissolved, and the illusion of direct contact is created, bridging the dimensions and suspending the conventions of time and space for as long as the viewer continues to observe the figure in the scene.[22]

On our krater, Hermes does not pay any attention to Persephone as she rises from the earth nor to the jubilant greeting she gets from her mother and her *propolos* Hekate. Rather his gaze is directed straight at us, the viewers, drawing us into the scene. Karusu argues that the figure was inspired by a statue of Hermes, and without a doubt there is a statuesque quality to the figure.[23] Zanker has described and responded to the enchanting quality of this unique figure, although his interpretation, which I quote in full, requires some modification:

> Persephone, Hekate und Demeter sind einander zugewandt und durch Blicke verbunden. Nichts verbindet Hermes mit den Göttinen. Wie eine Statue steht er unbewegt an der Stelle, wo sich das Reich des Hades zur Erde hin auftut . . . Sein Blick geht über das Geschehen hinweg, bleibt ohne Gegenüber. Ohne seine mächtige Gegenwart aber wäre der Aufstieg nicht möglich. Aus dem praktischen Geleiter und Wegweiser ist eine geistige Mittlergestalt geworden, deren reines Dasein gegeneinander abgeschlossene Welten öffnet. Das innere Unbeteiligtsein am Wiedersehen von Mutter und Tochter steigert das Fremdartige seiner Gestalt. Es gibt wenige Bilder, auf denen die strenge Abgeschlossenheit und die magische Kraft des Mittlers Hermes so zwingenden Ausdruck gefunden hat.[24]

Zanker's words capture much of the charm of this captivating figure, but I think he misses something of the highest importance: the impact and significance of Hermes' steady gaze directed toward us, the viewers of the scene.[25] We are drawn into the scene because the events it represents, the abduction and return of Persephone and her alternating sojourns in the upper and lower worlds, will have

[22] E. A. Mackay, 'The Frontal Face and "You": Narrative Disjunction in Early Greek Poetry and Painting', *AClass* 44 (2001), 31–2; cf. Frontisi-Ducroux (1995), 90–3 *et passim*.

[23] S. Karusu, '*ΕΡΜΗΣ ΨΥΧΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ*', *MDAI(A)* 76 (1961).

[24] P. Zanker, *Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der attischen Vasenmalerei* (Bonn, 1965), 81.

[25] The Persephone Painter does show an interest in frontal *bodies*, but not, it appears, in frontal faces, with the exception of this vase.

changed the nature of human life; as the *Hymn* proclaims (*h.Dem.* 480–2):

> ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·
> ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίων
> αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι.
>
> Blissful is he of groundling men who has seen these things; But he who is not initiated or has no share of the sacred rites, never will he have an equal share under the murky earth when he dies.

It seems altogether appropriate that the philanthropic god who traverses and mediates between heaven, earth, and the nether regions should be the herald of the new conditions of human mortality that are brought about by the reunion of mother and daughter. His unflinching gaze holds our attention and seems to demand that we reflect on the cosmic consequences of the scene.

To return to the rather generic figures on the other side: I propose that they should be conceived of as our reflection, mirrors of the viewers of the vase whose anonymity now makes sense (see Fig. 2.3a; note that unlike the figures on side A, they are not named). They represent us the worshippers whose lives have been transformed by the cosmic divine drama represented on the other side of the vase, and we are invited, by the *oinochoe* directed at us, to partake and to celebrate. We may well speculate as to the function of this extraordinary mixing bowl and it is indeed tempting to set it within a ritual context. I suggest as an appropriate occasion the ritual dining in the multiple sympotic spaces found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth, but perhaps also, as Malcolm Bell has suggested to me, closer to home, at a festival celebrating the *anodos* of the goddess in Eleusis at the Demeter Sanctuary in the Athenian agora.

I would like now to look at some images of Hermes, borrowing freely from Allan Shapiro's presentation at the 'Tracking Hermes/Mercury' conference of several vases involving Maia. I mention an Attic hydria dating to *c.*520–515 BC now held in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Paris (Fig. 2.4; [*LIMC* Hermes 243]) in passing because in Shapiro's brilliant exposition, it exemplifies how an image may at first glance have nothing to do with a narrative and yet in some sense embody its message synoptically. Hermes with his *kerykeion* holds out a *phiale* while Maia offers him a wreath. While the background is hard to make out because of the weathering of the vase, it could very

Fig. 2.4. Black-figure White-ground Hydria, Psiax, Athens, *c*.520–515 BC. Provenance: Vulci (Italy). Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais.

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well represent Maia's cave, and there may be a table or even a cradle behind her. Behind her stands a kid, and under the handle a leaping lion, which Shapiro took to indicate Hermes' patronage of animals in general (*h.Herm*. 567–71). While Zanker regards the image as a scene

of quiet intimacy between mother and son,[26] it more closely resembles a typical scene of leave-taking. If this is right, then the image on the vase in no wise illustrates the narrative of the *Homeric Hymn*, but it is *emblematic* of its action: how the new god Hermes, born to the nymph Maia in a cave far from Olympus, smuggled his way into Olympus and the Olympian pantheon, and finally managed by hook and by crook to acquire his *timai*. This scene, then, represents the pivotal moment of his leave-taking as well as his triumph.

The story of Hermes' stealing the cattle of his older brother, while not widely popular, nevertheless attracted some vase painters. Zanker believed that they have a 'mehr oder weniger direkten Zusammenhang mit dem homerischen Hermeshymnos'.[27] The 'mehr oder weniger' will concern us here. A brief summary of some of these vases, before I focus on two in particular.

1. In what may be the oldest depiction of the myth, a Corinthian krater in the Louvre, dated to the end of the seventh century, shows two male figures, one nude, tying the hands of another who wears a short *chiton* and *petasos* (Fig. 2.5a; Fig. 2.5b: detail drawing from Yalouris).[28] Several cattle fill out the scene, with one looking back toward the male figures. (I note in passing that here and elsewhere in depictions of the cattle theft, the animals are clearly male, while in the *Hymn* they are cows.) Yalouris noted that our only source for the incident of the attempted binding of Hermes by his older brother is the *Homeric Hymn* (lines 409–10) and has argued, convincingly in my opinion, that the scene involving Apollo, Hermes, and the stolen cattle is based on the *Hymn*.[29] Again, perhaps significant for the dating of the *Hymn*.
2. Geneva Tyrrhenian amphora dated to around 550.[30] This could be considered significant for the dating of the *Hymn*. Schefold, however, claims that its early date attests to the fact that the story of the cattle theft was already known before, a possibility that cannot be ruled out.[31]
3. Hermes and Cattle. Skyphos in Taranto (Fig. 2.6a; Fig. 2.6b).

[26] Zanker (1965), 64. [27] Zanker (1965), 60.
[28] N. Yalouris, '*ΕΡΜΗΣ ΒΟΥΚΛΕΨ*', *AEph* 1953–4.
[29] Yalouris (1953–4).
[30] Tyrrhenian Amphora, Geneva MF 156 ABV 99, 49 LIMC 2. Apollon 308.
[31] K. Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1991), 17.

Fig. 2.5a. Corinthian Krater, 600–575 BC, Musée du Louvre E 633.
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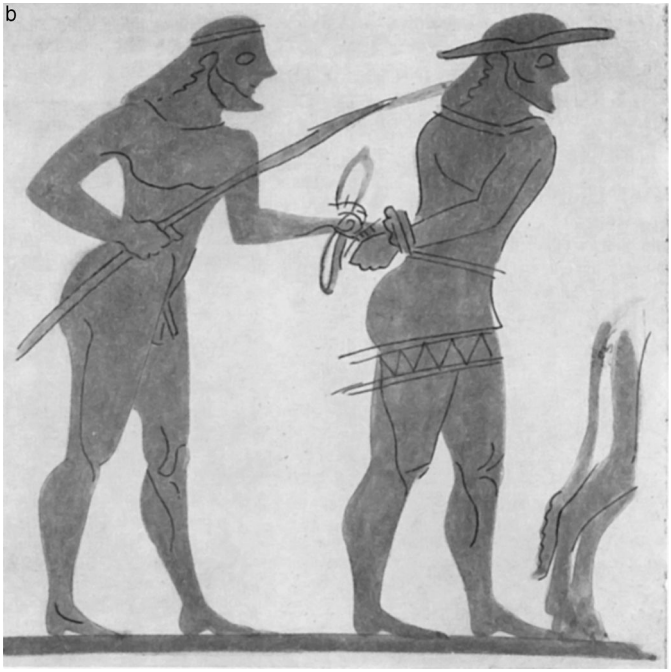

Fig. 2.5b. Corinthian Krater, 600–575 BC, Musée du Louvre E 633.
Detail drawing from Yalouris, N. (1953–4), '*ΕΡΜΗΣ ΒΟΥΚΛΕΨ*', *AEph* 1953–4: 172. Reproduced by kind permission of the Archaeological Society at Athens

Fig. 2.6a/b. Black-figure Skyphos, Theseus Painter, *c*.500 BC.

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4. Red-figure bowl of the Nikosthenes Painter: a figure plays the lyre to his cattle. If it is Hermes, it could offer a parallel to the *Hymn*, which recounts how Hermes *first* invented the lyre and then stole the cattle of Apollo, whereas a more canonical version inverts the order with the god using the sinews of the rustled cattle to fabricate the strings of his instrument. On the other hand, the vase may offer a synoptic view of two of Hermes' inventions: after all, we never are told in the *Hymn* that Hermes sang to his cattle, though it is a pleasant conceit.
5. In a black-figure amphora in New York, we definitely have Hermes, here beardless, which is unusual in this period (to indicate his youth?), but no lyre.

I turn now to the well-known Caeretan hydria in the Louvre (Figs 2.7a and 2.7b), dated to just before 530 (Zanker) or 520 (Schefold).[32] The hydria depicts two caves; the one on the left is populated by five head of cattle; a palm tree indicates that they belong to Apollo. The cave is framed with undulating branches and a hare sprints along the top. On the other side, another cave where three figures stand gesticulating in a lively fashion.[33] Apollo strides into the cave from the left, his right hand points to the child swaddled on a peculiar piece of furniture, and his left hand points accusingly at a female figure facing him, clearly Maia, who remonstrates with Apollo with her right hand while pointing to the baby with her left. On her left stands a bearded figure, presumably Zeus, who gestures with his right hand in what may be an attempt to calm things down.[34] His position next to Maia indicates his marital alliance with the nymph and thereby serves to acknowledge the legitimacy of the baby god. I want to draw attention to the wheeled table, which Hemelrijk has

[32] Louvre E 702. Zanker (1965), 61; Schefold (1991), 17.

[33] I follow the identification of the figures by J. P. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriae*, 2 vols (Mainz, 1984), 12, who suggests that Apollo has 'his mantle drawn over his head as a sign of mourning for his lost cattle'. Zanker (1965), 61 and Yalouris (1953–4), 173–4 also identify the central figure as Apollo; R. Bonaudo, *La Culla di Hermes: Iconografia e immaginario delle* hydriai *ceretane* (Rome, 2004), 64 and A. Mitchell, *Greek Vase-painting and the Origins of Visual Humour* (Cambridge, 2009), 136 believe the central figure is Maia and that Apollo stands beside Zeus. This seems less plausible.

[34] Hemelrijk (1984), 12 implausibly suggests that 'he is one of those mortals who suffered from Zeus' philandering, Maia's legal husband [!], or . . . Hermes' grandfather Atlas'. He misses the synoptic character of the image.

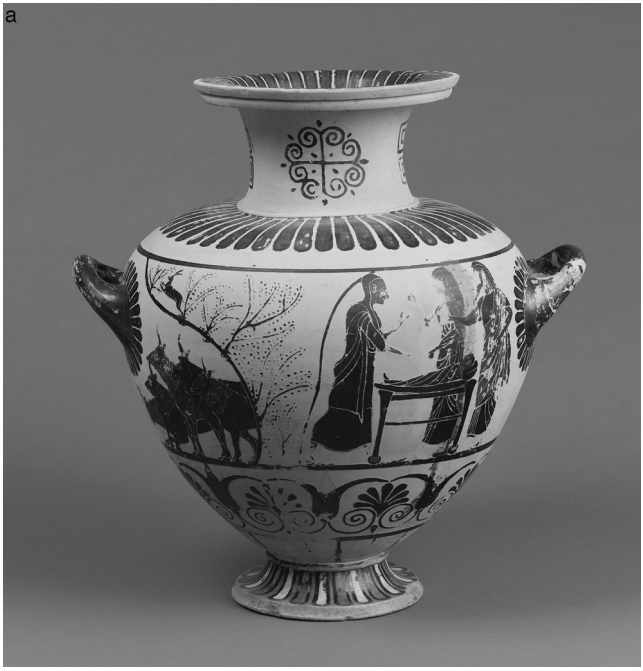

Fig. 2.7a. Caeretan Black-figure Hydria, *c.*550–530 BC, Musée du Louvre E 702.

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Fig. 2.7b. Caeretan Black-figure Hydria, *c.*550–530 BC, Musée du Louvre E 702.

Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell, <http://www.alexmitchell.net> (also published as Mitchell (2009), fig. 61)

called a 'tea-trolley', on which the swaddled baby Hermes seems to be lying.[35] Bonaudo notes that such carts with wheels have been found in Etruscan tombs 'probabilmente in relazione al sacrificio' and suggests that its presence 'pottrebe fungere da segno metonimico del taglio e della corretta spartizione delle carni, azioni nelle quale si attua l'arte del giovane dio'.[36] But such tables are just as much at home in depictions of banqueting as in scenes specifically sacrificial; and a more persuasive interpretation would link the table to the *dais* that baby Hermes prepares after he slaughters the cows by the Alpheios.

Just as the scene of the cattle hidden in the cave, and the scene of Apollo barging in on Maia, and his subsequent confrontation with Zeus are compressed into one scene, the fate of Apollo's cattle is alluded to in the image of the table on which Hermes prepares his feast for the Olympians, and tries to gobble down a piece of meat. I might also suggest that the waving branches above the cave containing the cattle are not merely decorative, but allude to the withies with which Apollo tries to bind Hermes, but which, as the *Hymn* tells us, through 'the plans of Hermes who can steal the mind suddenly took root on the spot under his feet and as if grafted grew and spread over all of the cows' (409–14).[37] If this analysis is persuasive, the vase combines and compresses into a nevertheless coherent scene incorporating the theft and hiding of the cattle, the *dais* beside the Alpheios, Apollo's arrival at Maia's cave, and his later attempt to bind his little brother, the miracle of the withies, and finally Zeus's adjudication between his two children that leads to Hermes' integration into the Olympian order.

Finally, two very similar cups attributed to the Brygos Painter, one in the Vatican and one in the Princeton Museum.[38] The main difference is the scenes in the tondo: Hermes and Io in the Princeton kylix wittily pick up the theme of Hermes and cattle (see Fig. 2.9c); the rather generic sympotic scene on the interior of the Vatican cup, I would like to believe, might support my contention that the *Homeric*

[35] Hemelrijk (1984), 12.

[36] Bonaudo (2004), 61. Zanker (1965), 61, suggests rather that the contraption resembles a bier and that Hermes may be playing dead.

[37] For the difficulties in the interpretation of these lines, see Vergados (2013) *ad loc.*

[38] A. Mitchell, *Greek Vase-painting and the Origins of Visual Humour* (Cambridge, 2009), 136–7, mentions only very briefly the incongruity of a baby managing to steal cattle on the Vatican cup and the Caeretan hydria. I suggest that there is a great deal more humour than he detects in the composition of the Brygos Painter's cups.

Hymns were performed in the context of the *symposium*.[39] The *Hymn to Hermes* in particular refers to sympotic venues several times (52–62, 454, 420–2) and suggests that such hymns would be at home in the environment of the *symposium*. We do know that in the course of such festivities, when a silence fell in the conversation, the Greeks proverbially believed that Hermes passed through the *andron*, making a sudden epiphany.

The exteriors of our kylikes have a great deal in common and offer examples of what Stansbury-O'Donnell calls Continuous Narrative, which seems especially suited to the frieze-like shape of the exterior of the kylix.[40] On the kylix in the Vatican, we find a herd of ten cattle (again bulls). Centred on side B (facing outward and seen by the guests at the symposium), a male figure with a staff in his right hand and left hand outstretched strides among the cattle (Fig. 2.8 [on the right]). On the Princeton kylix, the fragmentary state of the cup makes it difficult to know how many bulls circled the cup. Here, not Apollo but his emblematic palm tree occupies the centre of the frieze on side B, with the god positioned slightly to the right, and this time without a staff (see Fig. 2.9a). On the other side of the cup turned toward the drinker (side A),[41] a figure who must be Apollo (although some claim it is Maia) gestures in surprise with his left hand toward a cradle in which we discover the baby Hermes, wearing his signature *petasos* on the Vatican cup (see Fig. 2.8), and a more pointed hat on the Princeton version, the latter partially obscured by the curvature of the cave (see Fig. 2.9b).

In both versions Hermes is nearly hidden under the left handle (this is easier to see on the Princeton image [Figs 2.9a/b]) neither the drinker nor his sympotic companions can see him easily; when the kylix is grasped by the drinker, the infant god

[39] Most recently, J. S. Clay, 'The *Homeric Hymns* as Genre', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 251. M. Wegner, *Brygos-mahler* (Berlin, 1973) believes the interior was painted by a different painter.

[40] M. Stansbury-O'Donnell, *Pictorial Narrative in Ancient Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1999), 149–55.

[41] See Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999), 154–5 for the dynamics of viewing a kylix by Douris, where the chronologically earlier scenes occur on side B; also F. Lissarrague, 'Epiktetos egraphsen: The Writing on the Cup', in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds), *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge, 1994) for some observations on the disposition of scenes on kylikes.

Fig. 2.8. Red-figure Kylix, Brygos Painter, *c.*490–480 BC.
© bpk/Scala/Vatican: Museo Gregoriano Etrusco

becomes almost invisible—which of course is the point. Like Apollo when searching for his cattle, we have to hunt for the infant god amid the bulls, in a game of hide-and-seek.[42] The fact that the cattle are facing both ways confuses our quest.[43] Which way should we go to look for the culprit? And when we finally find him, our gaze is directed to the almost invisible god by . . . the frontal face of a bull, who seems to announce to us in an epiphanic moment: 'Aha, you found him!' The Brygos Painter must have liked his visual joke so much that he repeated it. Indeed, his witty conceit resembles Horace's

[42] Cf. Wegner (1973), 81.

[43] R. Stupperich, 'Bildkombination und Ableserichtung auf klassischen Bildfriesschalen: Ein Beitrag zum Problem des Verhältnesses von Gefäß und Bemahlung', in O. Brehm and S. Klie (eds), *MOUSIKOS ANER: Festschrift für Max Wegner zum 90. Geburtstag* (Bonn, 1992) has some interesting things to say on the directedness of scenes on kylikes.

Fig. 2.9a/b. Red-figure Kylix, Brygos Painter, *c.*490–480 BC (exterior).

Photo: Bruce M. White © 2014. Princeton University Art Museum/Art Resource NY/Scala, Florence

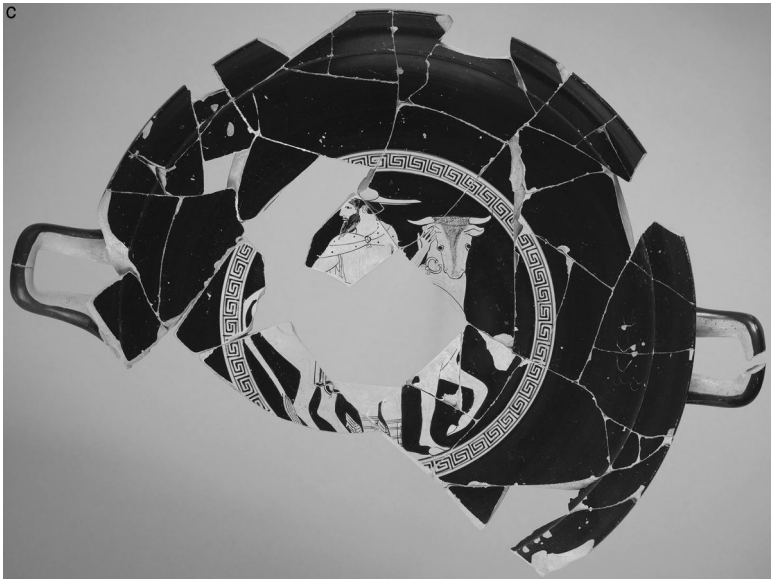

Fig. 2.9c. Red-figure Kylix, Brygos Painter, *c.*490–480 BC (interior).
Photo: Bruce M. White © 2014. Princeton University Art Museum/Art Resource NY/Scala, Florence

textual joke in his *Hymn to Hermes* (*Odes* 1.10)[44] when in the middle stanza the poet forces his readers to hunt through his complex syntax to join Apollo in laughing at the discovery of the tricky thefts carried out by the naughty child:

> Te, boues olim nisi reddidisses
> per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
> uoce dum terret, uiduus pharetra
> risit Apollo.
>
> Long ago, when Apollo was frightening you in threatening tones if you did not give back the cattle you had craftily stolen, he suddenly saw he had lost his quiver, and burst out laughing.[45]

Although he is surely drawing on Ovid's account (*Met.*), rather than directly from the *Hymn*, Claude Lorrain also makes us play hide-

[44] On this, see Chapter 4, subsection on *Homeric Hymns to Hermes* and *Odes* 1.10.
[45] Translation from N. Rudd, *Horace: Odes and Epodes* (Cambridge, MA, 2004).

Fig. 2.10. Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Apollo and Hermes*, Oil on Canvas, 1660.

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and-seek in his depiction: within a grandiose landscape, Apollo nonchalantly plays the pipes. Only after a sustained search do we discover, far in the background, his naughty little brother making off with the cattle (Fig. 2.10).

Part II

Latin Literature

3

The Hercules and Cacus Episode in Augustan Literature

Engaging the Homeric Hymn to Hermes *in Light of Callimachus' and Apollonius' Reception*

James J. Clauss

The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, whatever its date,[1] clearly preceded and provided an important intertext for two major Hellenistic authors, Callimachus and Apollonius, both of whom exerted significant influence over Virgil in all of his works, including the *Aeneid*.[2] In

[1] See most recently A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 131–47, with extensive references to earlier discussion, who not unreasonably dates the poem to the second half of the sixth century BC.

[2] The bibliography on this topic is substantial, so I only cite a few representative works, all with references to earlier works. Callimachus: E. V. George, *Aeneid VIII and the Aitia of Callimachus* (Leiden, 1974); R. F. Thomas, 'Callimachus, the Victoria Berenices, and Roman Poetry', *CQ* 33 (1983); R. G. Mayer, '*Aeneid* 8.573 and Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*', CQ 38 (1988); G. E. Tissol, 'An Allusion to Callimachus' *Aetia* 3 in Vergil's *Aeneid* 11', *HSPh* 94 (1992); M. Geymonat, 'Callimachus at the End of Aeneas' Narration', *HSPh* 95 (1993); S. J. Heyworth, 'Deceitful Crete. *Aeneid* 3.84 and the *Hymns* of Callimachus', *CQ* 43 (1993); M. A. Tueller, 'Well Read Heroes. Quoting the *Aetia* in *Aeneid* 8', *HSPh* 100 (2000); J. J. Clauss, 'Vergil's Sixth Eclogue. The *Aetia* in Rome', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds), *Hellenistica Groningana*: *Callimachus II* (Leuven, 2004); R. L. Hunter, *The Shadow of Callimachus: Studies in the Reception of Hellenistic Poetry at Rome* (Cambridge, 2006); H. Pelliccia, 'Unlocking *Aeneid* 6, 460: Plautus' *Amphitryon*, Euripides' *Protesilaus* and the Referent of Callimachus' *Coma*', *CJ* 106 (2011). Apollonius: B. E. Levy, 'Homer, Apollonius and the Origins of Aeneas', *Vergilius* 7 (1961); J. D. M. Preshous, 'Apollonius Rhodius and Virgil', *PVS* 4 (1964–5); D. C. Feeney, 'Following after Hercules in Virgil and Apollonius', *PVS* 18 (1986); W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and

the present chapter, I will focus on one particular episode in the latter: the theft of Hercules' cattle by Cacus, which is the most extensive of the Augustan renditions of the theme. As readers familiar with the *Homeric Hymn* have long observed, when Virgil has Cacus lead the cattle he stole from Hercules backwards into his cave in Book 8 of the epic (*Aen*. 8.205–12), he is imitating Hermes who lived in a cave and employed a similar ploy in the hymn during his theft of Apollo's cattle (*h.Herm*. 68–86).[3] The gambit makes perfect sense within the context and Hercules, totally in character, is taken in by the clever trick, far different from the wisely suspicious Apollo of the *Homeric Hymn*. Yet so clear an allusion to the celebrated ploy makes one wonder: does the episode engage the *Hymn* at a deeper level? I believe that the answer is yes and that Callimachus and Apollonius might have been instrumental in showing Virgil the literary potential of this pre-Hellenistic text. But the story does not stop with Virgil. Other contemporary and younger Augustan writers took up the Hercules–Cacus story, featuring the same trick of leading the stolen cattle backwards, which allows for the further possibility of its connection, direct or indirect, with the Hermes hymn and, perhaps, its Hellenistic reception. The *Aeneid*'s rendition of the narrative, as I hope to show, will provide a useful platform for looking, albeit briefly, at the other Augustan versions of the theme in Livy, Propertius, and Ovid.

The best place to begin such a discussion involves a fundamental theme of the Hermes hymn that might have drawn subsequent literary artists to this text, apart from its humour and popularity in general. At issue in the hymn for the newly born divinity is a defining γέρας ('gift of honour', *h.Herm*. 291) and the κῦδος ('glory', *h.Herm*.

Oxford, 1987); R. L. Hunter, 'Bulls and Boxers in Apollonius and Vergil', *CQ* 39 (1989); J. J. O'Hara, 'Etymological Wordplay in Apollonius of Rhodes, *Aeneid* 3, and *Georgics* 1', *Phoenix* 44 (1990); C. R. Beye, 'Vergil and Apollonius', in C. Perkell (ed.), *Reading Vergil's Aeneid. An Interpretive Guide* (Norman, OK, 1999); D. P. Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Leeds, 2001); D. P. Nelis, 'Apollonius and Virgil', in T. D. Papanghelis and A. Rengakos (eds), *Brill's Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*, rev. edn (Leiden, 2008).

[3] T. E. Page, *The Aeneid of Vergil Books VII–XII* (London, Melbourne, and Toronto, 1900), 216; R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Vergil. Books 7–12* (Basingstoke and London, 1973), 241; George (1974), 63 n. 1; P. T. Eden, *A Commentary on Virgil: Aeneid VIII* (Leiden, 1975), 81; K. W. Grandsen, *Virgil: Aeneid Book VIII* (Cambridge, 1976), 111; and C. J. Fordyce, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII–VIII* (London, 1977), 229.

477) and stature (*h.Herm.* 458–62) it will bring. In sum, the theft of Apollo's cattle will provide the devious god with access to Olympian status.[4] But what might the theft of cattle per se signify? For a herding god like Apollo, cattle are his source of wealth, prestige, and power. The theft of his cattle thus emerges as nothing less than the attempted usurpation of his power base, pastoral domain, and divine status; by extension in human terms the herd has the potential to symbolize royal power. As it happens, this theme plays out as a critical feature of passages in Callimachus, Apollonius, and their Roman successors that directly or indirectly lead back to this hymn.

In his study of the Indo-European origin of stories that feature the slaying of monsters and stealing of cattle, particularly in their role of explaining the usurpation of wealth from aboriginal occupants by incoming Indo-Europeans, Bruce Lincoln noted that the importance of cattle lies in the fact that they 'were the very basis of the I-E economy, forming the essential measure of wealth and means of exchange'.[5] Timothy Howe spells this out more fully in his monograph on pastoral politics. Citing Eumaeus' summary of Odysseus' wealth at *Od.* 14.99–104, Howe notes that from the earliest literary texts elite wealth was measured in livestock.[6] Theagenes of Megara offers an especially pertinent example of a man who gained control over the city-state by gaining control over the animal wealth of the elites.[7] Equally interesting is the case of certain Athenian ambassadors to whom Philip of Macedon gave a significant number of herd animals (cattle, sheep, and horses) in return for forwarding his interests in Athens. As Howe notes, the gift transformed their social status, enhancing their honour and winning the envy and scorn of Demosthenes.[8] In addition to the personal wealth that cattle gave

[4] The general thesis of J. S. Clay, *The Politics of Olympus: Form and Meaning in the Major 'Homeric Hymns'* (Princeton, NJ, 1989) attractively argues that the function of the four major *Homeric Hymns* is to underscore the evolution of a panhellenic pantheon under Zeus' rule. On the Hermes hymn, see Clay (1989), 95–151 *et passim*.

[5] B. Lincoln, 'The Indo-European Cattle-Raiding Myth', *HR* 16 (1976), 62–3, with references to earlier discussions in n. 71.

[6] T. Howe, *Pastoral Politics: Animals, Agriculture and Society in Ancient Greece* (Claremont, CA, 2008), 27, a text cited on this point also by H. J. Rose, 'Chthonian Cattle', *Numen* 1 (1954), 217–18, who also aptly notes the connection between cattle and money in the Latin term *pecunia* (219). Another example of a mythological king whose wealth was measured by cattle was Pelias (Pindar *P.* 41.148–50, mentioned by Howe (2008), 45; *N.b.*, *Od.* 11.253–5 describes Iolkos as rich in sheep).

[7] Howe (2008), 43–4.

[8] Howe (2008), 45–6.

an individual's family, the ability to provide one's community with herd animals for festivals became a sign of ambition and status,[9] a particularly telling example of which is Jason of Pherai, whose offer of 10,000 animals in 370 BC would have bought him directorship of the Pythian Games, had he not been assassinated.[10] McInerney notes a twofold importance of cattle in ancient Greek society:

> First, herding foregrounds particular practices and experiences that end up dominating entire cultural fields: institutions from marriage to war, concepts of prestige and value, modes of social interaction, negotiation of social hierarchies, all end up being refracted through the prism of herding. Second, because *habitus* (i.e., 'a system of internalized schemes') is neither fixed nor inflexible, it can continue to reflect notions, values and experiences that inform the individual's perceptions and the culture's shared grammar of symbols and ideas long after the empirical circumstances that gave rise to any part of it are changed or lost.[11]

In sum, as seen in their myths, as observed in their politics, and as made manifest in their culture long after the Greeks were a pastoral society, cattle evinced a source of power and negotiated social hierarchies, literally and metaphorically.[12]

In his monograph *Hermes the Thief*, Norman Brown further distinguishes between theft (*κλοπή*) and plunder (*ἁρπαγή*), the former of which is characterized by fraud (*δόλος*) and the latter by force (*βία*). Cattle-raiding as a form of plunder, he observes, is a public enterprise engaged in by kings and their armies openly, pointing out that the Sanskrit word for 'war' translates as 'desire for more cows'. Theft, on the other hand, happens secretly and by way of trickery. Interestingly, he contrasts Heracles, as the archetypal cattle-raider of Greek mythology and thus representative of *βία*, with Hermes, the epitome of *δόλος*,[13] an opposition particular to Apollonius' *Argonautica*, which

[9] Howe (2008), 102. [10] Howe (2008), 1–7.

[11] J. McInerney, *The Cattle of the Sun: Cows and Culture in the World of the Ancient Greeks* (Princeton and Oxford, 2010), 5.

[12] On the ritual background of cattle raiding, which, though not central to this chapter, has the potential to underscore the importance of cattle in rites of passage and power politics, see P. Walcot, 'Cattle Raiding, Heroic Tradition and Ritual: The Greek Evidence', *HR* 18 (1979) and S. I. Johnston, 'Myth, Festival, and Poet: The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and its Performative Context', *CPh* 97 (2002).

[13] N. O. Brown, *Hermes the Thief* (Madison, WI, 1947), 5–7. McInerney (2010), 142–5, however, rightfully includes Hermes' actions among the heroic, noting that cunning intelligence was a prized virtue in Greek culture. Nonetheless, there was a clear distinction between open and covert modi operandi. Walcot (1979), 339–42

plays Heracles opposite several contrasting figures, especially Jason.[14] In the *Homeric Hymn*, the trickster Hermes proceeds against Apollo, 'the embodiment of physical power and the majesty of established authority',[15] thus engaging this contrast between heroic types. So in addition to the value of cattle as a symbol of elite wealth and power, the Hermes hymn embodies a mythic dualism that sets physical power opposite stealth, as seen most famously in the contrast between Achilles and Odysseus (a descendant of Hermes by way of his grandfather Autolycus) in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[16]

One final note regards the theme of the quest that is central to the *Homeric Hymn*. When heroes go on a quest for someone or something, the journey typically takes them far from home and to a forbidding place, often at the edge of the known world, that is or symbolizes the underworld.[17] Such journeys involve transformation at key moments in the life of the heroes, especially the death of an old self and rebirth into a new role.[18] For Odysseus, his trip to the underworld forms part of his transition from warrior to citizen. Heracles' many quests anticipate his ultimate rebirth as a god. Many quests represent the transition from child to adult and readiness for marriage and/or kingly power, such as Perseus'. Hermes' quest underscores his remarkable transition from child prodigy to Olympian by way of his acquisition of a herd of cattle, the manifestation of power and authority. I suggest that this feature of the myth also has the potential to be evoked when the *Hymn* is alluded to.

In sum, narratives that feature, all or in part, the following elements and actions have the potential to engage the *Homeric Hymn to*

offers the further distinction between pre-adult youths working on their own or in small groups who depend on cunning as well as bravery in order to establish their right of inclusion within their communities.

[14] A central thesis of J. J. Clauss, *The Best of the Argonauts. The Redefinition of the Epic Hero in Book 1 of Apollonius' Argonautica* (Berkeley, CA, 1993).

[15] Brown (1947), 8.

[16] As brilliantly discussed in G. Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans; Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore, MD, 1979).

[17] See M. Davies, 'Some Neglected Aspects of Cacus', *Eranos* 102 (2004), 30–1, on this point with regard to the Hercules and Cacus story.

[18] Johnston (2002), expanding on Walcot (1979), offers an insightful examination of the way in which the hymn enacts the process of personal transformation and acceptance into the community of adult males. Of special note is her observation of the tension between the need for the youths to take risks in challenging their superiors, as in the interaction between Hermes and Apollo, and the willingness of those superiors to accept their challengers.

Hermes: the theft of cattle, which define their owner's wealth and thus their source of power, in crafty ways (especially by leading them backwards); the inclusion of a cave as the home of the thief; the foregrounding of the opposition between heroic modes of action such as violence and stealth; the engagement of the theme of fraternal strife; and hinting at transition to a new role, including acceptance into Olympus. As I hope to show, what can activate such engagement is a lexical and/or thematic hook that leads the reader to the hymn, directly or indirectly.

CALLIMACHUS' *HYMN TO ZEUS*

When Callimachus stated that his ruler,[19] left unnamed, could accomplish by the evening the plan which he conceived in the morning (*H.* 1.85–90; in particular *ἑσπέριος κεῖνός γε τελεῖ τά κεν ἦρι νοήσῃ·/ ἑσπέριος τὰ μέγιστα, τὰ μείονα δ', εὖτε νοήσῃ*; 'in the evening that one completes whatever he devises in the morning; in the evening the greatest plans, but the lesser ones the moment he devises them'), he clearly had in mind Hermes' remarkable feat of stealing his older half-brother Apollo's cattle in the evening of the day the morning of which he was born (*h.Herm.* 17–19, *ἠῷος γεγονὼς μέσῳ ἤματι ἐγκιθάριζεν, / ἑσπέριος βοῦς κλέψεν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος*; 'having been born in the morning, he played the kithara by the middle of the day, and in the evening he stole the cattle of far-shooting Apollo').[20] What makes the allusion all the more compelling, in addition to a number of other verbal connections,[21] is the fact that the unnamed ruler, doubtless Ptolemy Philadelphus (son of Ptolemy Soter and Berenice), effectively stole the throne of Egypt from his older step-brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus (son of Soter's first wife, Eurydice), a situation mirroring the Olympian relationship between Apollo and Hermes as older and younger brothers by different mothers. Moreover, Philadelphus celebrated his birthday and

[19] What follows is a summary of an article which I wrote in 1986 but is now slightly recalibrated to anticipate the Roman contexts, and in a way unimagined years ago.

[20] All translations are my own.

[21] J. J. Clauss, 'Lies and Allusions: The Addressee and Date of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*', *ClAnt* 5 (1986), 162–6 and Vergados (2013), 117–18.

accession to the throne of Egypt on the same day in 285/284 and 284/283 BC. The *Homeric Hymn* has Hermes steal the cattle of Apollo on the same day he is born, thus Callimachus' celebration of Philadelphus' ascension to the throne replicates the mythic event of birth and 'theft' of royal power with remarkable precision. Appeal to the hymn, then, provides a mythic backdrop for the political reality that played out in the 280s BC and resolves the conflict in a light-hearted fashion by way of the humorous hymn which features reconciliation and acceptance of deception by the aggrieved older half-brother,[22] a fact which actually occurred in 280 BC in the case of Philadelphus and Ceraunus.[23]

Moreover, as Vergados has pointed out, the *Homeric Hymn* features a *mise en abyme*: the newly born Hermes sings a hymn to himself within a hymn about himself.[24] As a later reflection on and adaptation of this trope we might read Callimachus' subtle honouring of Ptolemy Philadelphus' acquisition of royal power as a sort of hymn within a hymn insofar as his indirect, unnamed honoree is closely linked to the main celebrant, Zeus. For as Callimachus states, quoting Hesiod, kings come from Zeus (*ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες* [*H.* 1.79 = *Th.* 96]), making Philadelphus Zeus' avatar on earth whose swift rise to power, associated with his birth, parallels those of both Zeus and Hermes. While I do not insist upon this reading here, the presence of the trope will continue to be felt in subsequent allusions to the *Homeric Hymn*.

As a final note, Callimachus' hymn does not include a quest per se (although the divine child does undertake a long journey), yet allusion to the Hermes hymn surely connects with one of its central features, transition from childhood to adulthood and Olympian power, which does figure into Zeus' birth narrative (*H.* 1.55–9):

> *καλὰ μὲν ἠέξευ, καλὰ δ' ἔτραφες, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ*
> *ὀξὺ δ' ἀνήβησας, ταχινοὶ δέ τοι ἦλθον ἴουλοι.*

[22] Walcot (1979), 344–5 cites a comparable reconciliation between Theseus and Peirithous in Plutarch *Th.* 31.1–2 as a form of test in order to establish courage and intelligence. On the importance of reconciliation in the *Homeric Hymn* in general, see McInerney (2010), 143–4.

[23] S. Stephens, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Berkeley, CA, 2003), 77–114 and B. Acosta-Hughes and S. A. Stephens, *Callimachus in Context. From Plato to the Augustan Poets* (Cambridge, 2012), 133–4, 149–53; also see in the hymn a shift in power from Greece to Alexandria that supports the emergence of a new Ptolemaic regime in Egypt.

[24] Vergados (2013), 9–14.

ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι παιδνὸς ἐὼν ἐφράσσαο πάντα τέλεια·
τῷ τοι καὶ γνωτοὶ προτερηγενέες περ ἐόντες
οὐρανὸν οὐκ ἐμέγηραν ἔχειν ἐπιδαίσιον οἶκον.

You grew well and were well nurtured, heavenly Zeus
and quickly coming of age, your first whiskers soon appeared.
Though still a boy, all the plans you conceived were realized.
As a result, your siblings, even though they were older,
did not begrudge your having the heavens as your allotted home.

Although Callimachus does not include mention of the cave where the god was traditionally raised (Hesiod *Th.* 482–4), he does describe the Curetes' dance meant to conceal the child's existence from his father, Cronus, presumably from within said cave (*H.* 1.46–54). One might surmise that the cave in which the infant Zeus was hidden from his father is present both in the reader's general knowledge of the story but also by way of reference to the Hermes hymn as seen in the cave in which the infant Hermes lives and in particular his cradle therein, referred to as a λίκνον (*h.Herm.* 48, 63, 150, 254, 290, 358), which Callimachus alluded to at *H.* 1.47 (λίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ). On this point it might not be overly ingenuous to recall that caves often represent wombs and/or portals to the underworld, literal and metaphorical places where transformation happens, where heroes and by extension gods are reborn into new roles.[25] It is relatively easy, then, to conclude that Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* possesses both the lexical and thematic links that establish a firm connection with the *Homeric Hymn*.

APOLLONIUS' *ARGONAUTICA*

When the Argonauts are about to launch the Argo for her maiden voyage, they set their clothes on a flat stone, λείῳ ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι (*Argo.* 1.365).[26] The only other extant instance of this phrase occurs

[25] As Vergados (2013), 284, notes, Hermes' association with the underworld involves both his birth and residence in a cave as well as his appointment as *psychopomp*. Rebirth is in any event a central feature of the birth of the Olympians who are devoured by Cronus, spend time in the cave of their father's stomach, and are born anew by way of regurgitation.

[26] This section likewise revisits earlier work that a consideration of the Roman passages allows me to expand upon; see Clauss (1993), 69–74.

at *h.Herm*. 128. While there are far fewer verbal connections between the Argonautic context and that of the hymn than there are in Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*,[27] what strengthens the likelihood that more than a unique phrase attracted the poet is the remarkable similarity between the events narrated in the proximity of the telling phrase: a thematic hook. After stealing Apollo's cattle, on his way home Hermes desires meat and selects two of the fifty cattle he stole for sacrifice. Subsequent to his invention of firesticks, the god sets wood in a trench, slaughters the two cows, roasts their meat on spits, and then divides it into twelve portions by lot (*κληροπαλεῖς*, *h.Herm*. 129), which he sets upon the flat stone mentioned above (*h.Herm*. 105–29). The launch of the ship follows a remarkably similar process: the men dig a trench, set logs within to function as rollers, and reverse the oars in the oarlocks to achieve a better grip; as the ship moves over the rollers its weight causes the logs to smoke (similar to the way in which the firesticks create flame); after the ship is launched they divide up the seats by lot (*πάλῳ*, *Argo*. 1. 395) and proceed to have a sacrifice (*Argo*. 1.363–401). Moreover, in each case two animals are sacrificed, cows by Hermes and bulls by the Argonauts (*Argo*. 1.425–30).[28] Of especial note is the fact that the latter sacrifice to Apollo, at which event Heracles kills one of the animals, takes place on an altar built specifically for the occasion (*Argo*. 1.402–4).

What makes that which might seem an accidental similarity more promising is the fact that both poems feature a quest, a distant journey to retrieve prized objects (herd animals and the fleece of a herd animal), and, what is more, the climax of the *Homeric Hymn* and this specific Argonautic episode conclude in the diffusing of anger, reconciliation if you will, through the medium of theogonic song. In the *Homeric Hymn*, Apollo was furious with his brother for having stolen his cattle; only after Hermes sang about the birth of the gods did Apollo relinquish his wrath and become reconciled with his younger brother (*h.Herm*. 409–62), a feature of the hymn significant to Callimachus in his reception of the poem as seen above. In the *Argonautica*, Idas (a hero of strength) in his cups insults the seer

[27] For this and other Apollonian references to the Hermes hymn, see Vergados (2013), 113–17.

[28] The discussion of Gilgamesh's slaughter of the Bull of Heaven in McInerney (2010), 40–7, calls to mind Hermes' sacrifice, making it reminiscent of the actions of a traditional 'culture hero'; cf. J. Larson, 'Lugalbanda and Hermes', *CPh* 100 (2005). Of special note here is the connection between management of cattle and kingship.

Idmon (whose forte is vision) and risks upsetting the harmony of the crew, but, similar to Hermes, Orpheus sings about the origins of the world and the birth of the gods, and the mission-threatening *νεῖκος* ('quarrel') is avoided (*Argo*. 1.492–518).

In my initial reading of this intertextual engagement, I focused on the possibility that Apollonius equated the Argo, set upon smoking logs within a trench, with a sacrificial victim in the larger context of the episode, noting that sacrifices were communal events that supported unanimity, a central and climactic feature of this scene and a theme featured elsewhere in the poem.[29] I failed to notice a critical point of contact between the Homeric and Callimachean hymns,[30] one which reflects a key element of the Argonautic myth that Apollonius in fact chose to downplay. In assuming responsibility for the quest, Jason is effectively engaged in a contest for power, even though he does not describe it as such; at stake is the throne of Iolcus.[31] According to the traditional terms of such an *ἄεθλος* ('contest'), and of the Argonautic expedition in particular, the successful quest, in this case for a herd animal's fleece, should result in his acquisition of *γέρας*, royal power,[32] and heroic *κῦδος*.[33] What is more, the very reason that Jason must undertake the expedition is because his uncle, Pelias, usurped the throne from his brother (Jason's

[29] Clauss (1993), 69–87. Ivana Petrovic noted that both the ram which Phrixus sacrificed literally and the Argo which appears to be 'sacrificed' metaphorically were talking conveyances which brought Greeks to Colchis.

[30] On the early date of the Callimachean hymn, see Clauss (1986) and on the date of the *Argonautica*, see now J. Murray, 'Anchored in Time: The Date of Apollonius' *Argonautica*', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds), *Hellenistica Groningana: Hellenistic Poetry in Context* (Leuven, 2014), who offers an outstanding argument for dating the epic in or after 238 BC. That Apollonius also had his eye specifically on the Callimachean *Hymn to Zeus* within Book 1, see Clauss (1993), 167–71. Perhaps Callimachus' reception of the *Homeric Hymn* helped Apollonius see its potential.

[31] That Pelias wanted to keep Jason from assuming the throne of Iolcus that was rightfully his is only hinted at by Apollonius at *Argo*. 3.333–5; see F. Vian, *Apollonios de Rhodes. Argonautiques* (Paris, 1974–81), 2.122–3 and M. Fantuzzi and R. L. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge, 2004), 111. The canonical account where Jason demands his throne back can be found at Pindar *P*. 4.104–68; see [Apollodorus] *Bibl*. 1.9 for what is the standard account.

[32] Although Apollonius does not use *γέρας* of royal power in Iolcus, Hypsipyle offers the throne of Lemnos employing this term at *Argo*. 1.829.

[33] Apollonius refers to Jason's quest for *κῦδος* directly and indirectly several times: *Argo*. 1.206, 345, 351, 1292; 4.205.

father), Aeson. Thus at the core of the Argonautic myth lies a celebrated example of fraternal strife.

Furthermore, Apollonius would appear to make yet another connection between Jason's and Hermes' quests in Aeetes' representation of the former's goal. The Colchian king states that he would not have received Phrixus unless Zeus had sent Hermes (*Argo*. 3.588) and that the Argonauts were thieves (λῃστῆρας, *Argo*. 3.589) who came to seize other people's property and engaged in trickery (δόλους, *Argo*. 3.592).[34] As such, the Argonautic quest, whose mythic subtext involves the acquisition of royal power, is presented, albeit by a barbaric autocrat, as a theft in tune with the Homeric model that the launch of the Argo, the beginning of the expedition, evokes. And in point of fact, even though Jason completes Aeetes' ἄεθλος, the Colchian king does not hand over the fleece in response to the success of his heroic feat, but Jason has to steal it secretly with Medea's help. Moreover, as they head toward the grove where the fleece lies, near the altar that Phrixus built to Zeus because of Hermes' instructions (*Argo*. 4.118–21), Medea notes that they will take the fleece contrary to the will of her father (παρὲκ νόον Αἰήταο, *Argo*. 4.102); Hermes, then, is explicitly present in the narrative immediately prior to the 'theft' of the fleece, as he was implicitly during the launch of the Argo. Different from the *Homeric Hymn*, however, we know that ultimately there will be no reconciliation between Jason and Aeetes, Jason and Pelias, and, beyond the demise of the latter, between Jason and Medea. Apollonius' incorporation of Hermes' theft thus emerges as double-edged. In its immediate context, there is resolution; the long-term ramifications lead to a conclusion opposite to that of the *Homeric Hymn*, such as we find in Roman allusions to the myth.

In sum, the unique phrase λείῳ ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι provides an incontrovertible point of contact with the hymn. The similarity of the actions surrounding the telling phrase and the broader thematic links, which include the motif of fraternal strife, conflict over power, a quest, opposite styles of heroic skills, and theft, support the presence of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* as a significant intertext.

[34] Cf. [Apollodorus] 3.2.2 who cites the case of Catreus, son of Minos, who upon arrival on Rhodes was pursued by cowherds for fear that he and his entourage were pirates; he was ultimately killed by his own son, to whom he wanted to give his kingdom (cited by Walcot (1979), 333). The combination of cattle and royal inheritance is most interesting.

HERCULES AND CACUS IN ROME

Virgil

I now turn to possible evocations of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* in Rome, all of which are made possible by the unusual and specific nature of the cattle theft, starting with and focusing on the *Aeneid*. When Aeneas, on the advice of the river god Tiberinus, sails up the Tiber to the village of Pallanteum,[35] he encounters Arcadians under the leadership of Evander living at the future site of Rome and participating in an annual sacrifice to Hercules.[36] Following the typical epic introductions and the prerequisite banquet that completes the sacrifice, Evander offers an aetiological account of the religious festival, in good Callimachean–Apollonian fashion.[37] Similar to signature Herculean labours, this Roman *parergon* involves Hercules' role as ἀλεξίκακος, the protector from evil (κακός), in this case literally applied. For the Arcadian inhabitants are plagued by a monstrous creature named Cacus who lives in a cave, outside of which he displays human heads (*A*. 8.193–7; cf. Ovid *F*. 1.557–8).[38]

In Evander's narrative, Hercules, like Hermes and Jason, is engaged in a quest: fetching the cattle of the three-headed Geryon, who lives at the edge of the world in the far west, making this another

[35] The traversing of the river by two sea vessels recalls the journey of the Argo along the Danube with similar results: wonderment at their passing (*Aen*. 8.90–3, *Argo*. 4.316–22).

[36] In his conversation with Evander, Aeneas notes their relationship by way of Atlas: Dardanus, the founder of Troy, was the son of Electra and Evander was the son of Mercury, a son of Maia; both women were daughters of Atlas (*Aen*. 8.134–41). So at the start of the episode Hermes/Mercury is present in the story by way of genealogy. A connection with Hermes is of course natural, given that the god was born in Arcadia and that Romans associated the toponym *Palatium* with Arcadian *Παλλάντιον* / *Παλλαντεῖον*. On the latter point, see Fordyce (1977), 210–11; on the etymology, see J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), 202.

[37] On the Callimachean nature of the hospitality scenes, see George (1974), 25–42 and Tueller (2000), 371–5.

[38] On the fusion between a native Italian legend involving a local deity, Cacus (also known in a female incarnation as Caca and among the Etruscans as Cacu), associated with the Palatine and whose cattle was stolen by a guest, and a modified Herculean *parergon* in which the benevolent host morphs into the villain (κακός) of the tale, see R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1–5* (Oxford, 1965), 57–8 and Davies (2004), 31–2, 33, following the lead of J. P. Small, *Cacus and Marsyas in Etrusco-Roman Legend* (Princeton, NJ, 1982).

'underworld' expedition.[39] But when we meet Hercules in the story, he had already taken possession of the cattle by way of open force (*βία*), as we know from the tradition. His journey back to Tiryns brings him to the future site of Rome where the (now) savage Cacus attempts to steal his cattle by way of δόλος (specifically called *dolus* by Virgil at *Aen*. 8.206).[40] It is this δόλος that brings the reader directly to the Hermes hymn. While Hercules sleeps, Cacus takes four bulls and four heifers, employing the same trick as Hermes in the hymn of leading the stolen cattle backwards to confuse the owner (*Aen*. 8.209–12; cf. *h.Herm*. 73–8):[41]

> atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,
> cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum
> indiciis raptos saxo occultabat opaco;
> quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.
>
> And lest there be any hoofprints leading in his direction,
> he (Cacus) dragged them (the stolen cattle) into his cave by the tail
> and, reversing the witness of their tracks, he hid them within the dark rock.
> No signs were leading to the cave, should someone come looking.

In addition to the use of the same trick (cf. the remarkably similar phraseology in the comparable passages in Livy, Propertius, and Ovid discussed below), it is notable that Cacus lives in a cave, similar to Hermes. Also similar to Hermes, in another possible nod to the hymn

[39] In addition to Davies cited above, see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, 2 vols (Baltimore and London, 1993), 402–8.

[40] Martial 5.65.5–6, who briefly alludes to this ruse, identifies Cacus' action as *fraus*.

[41] D. Sutton, 'The Greek Origins of the Cacus Myth', *CQ* 27 (1977) suggested that the Cacus story may have come to Rome by way of the Sullan-era dramatist Pomponius, whose play *Sisyphus* may have been drawn from the Euripidean play of the same name. Probus *ad* Virgil *G*. 3.267 mentions that Sisyphus stole the horses of Diomedes from Heracles, but there is no mention of their being dragged backwards (*pace* Vergados (2013), 284). The best evidence for this ruse between the *Homeric Hymn* and the Roman stories about Cacus is Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (118–19), which is a dramatic representation of the hymn and clearly a window reference to the latter, and Euripides' second *Autolycus* (see Sutton (1977), 393), which would also itself likely be dependent on the Hermes hymn, given that Autolycus is the son of Hermes. Apart from the Cacus story, there seems to be no other story in extant Greek and Roman literature that features the theft of cattle by leading them backwards that is not associated with Hermes. Regardless of who added this feature to the story, it is likely to have happened after the second-century BC annalist Gn. Gellius, whose account of Cacus, cited by Solinus, represents him in a seemingly positive light; see Davies (2004), 35.

(*h.Herm*. 249–77, 368–86), Virgil includes the puzzling claim that Cacus denies stealing the cattle (*abiurataeque rapinae*, *Aen*. 8.263; cf. D.H. 1.39.3).[42]

Where the narrative trajectories diverge significantly, however, is in their conclusions. For Hercules there will be no reconciliation and the theft will end in the brutal death of the thief, following instead the older Indo-European versions of the tale as examined by Lincoln. Once one of the cows within the cave lowed, alerting the hero to the theft, Hercules becomes enraged (*hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro | felle dolor*, *Aen*. 8.219–20) and eventually tears off the roof of the cave. Of particular note is Virgil's comparison of Cacus' lair to the underworld (*infernas . . . sedes*, *Aen*. 8.241–6).[43] As it happens, the severed heads hanging on the outside of the cave are also symbolic indications that the site represents the land of the dead.[44] The rescuing of his cattle, then, replicates their initial acquisition and makes of this minor episode a much more significant event in the life of Hercules, who once again confronts and defeats the power of death and therein achieves immortality.[45] From this perspective, it is no wonder that he was treated like a god and given his own cult. Moreover, the elevation of the status of this story into a *katabasis* calls attention to the parallel of Aeneas' journey to the underworld, and at the very site where Rome will one day emerge.[46]

Other features of the story appear to lead back to the Hermes hymn or at least reflect features inherent in the hymn. As mentioned above,

[42] That the disclaimer might be understood from the context, see Eden (1975), 91. S. Casali, 'The Development of the Aeneas Legend', in J. Farrell and M. C. J. Putnam (eds), *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and its Tradition* (Malden, MA, 2010), 39, sees another connection between Cacus and Hermes, who traditionally flew by way of winged sandals, in the phrase *pedibus timor addidit alas* (*Aen*. 8.224).

[43] J. F. Miller, 'Virgil's Salian *Hymn to Hercules*', *CJ* 109 (2014), 444–5, notes the similarity between Cacus with his cave and the underworld described in the Salian hymn to Heracles with which the ceremony concludes. As Vergados (2013), 284, also notes, Hermes' association with a cave and role as *psychopomp* connect him with the underworld. See also Davies (2004), 32, who specifically equates Cacus with figures such as Nereus and Geryon as death-demons and herdsmen of the dead.

[44] See J. J. Clauss, 'Descent into Hell: Mythic Paradigms in *The Searchers*', *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 27 (1999), 9, on the use of animal skulls to represent the king of the underworld.

[45] G. K. Galinsky, 'Hercules in the *Aeneid*', in S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford and New York, 1990), 290, calls Virgil's handling of the episode 'a genuine mythopoeic addition to the Herakles myth'.

[46] On the katabatic nature of this episode and its connection with Aeneas' experience, see most recently Miller (2014), 445–6.

Evander's story about Hercules' exploits provides an explanation for the sacrifice that they were celebrating when Aeneas arrived (*Aen*. 8.184–275). After completing his tale, the celebration continues with a hymn to Hercules, sung by the Salii, that includes major episodes in the hero's life and culminates in his victory over Cacus (*laudes Herculeas*, *Aen*. 8.285–305).[47] As such, we have a hymn to Hercules embedded within an episode celebrating the hero, paralleling the *mise en abyme* of the *Homeric Hymn*; as we will see in the eponymous subsection below, Propertius exploits the potential of this gambit even further. Furthermore, it has been noted that the change from indirect narrative to direct address in the hymn to Hercules imitates Orpheus' hymn to Apollo in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (2.694–713).[48] The latter hymn resides within a poem that, beginning from Apollo, similarly makes it a hymn within a hymn, which suggests that the trope of the *mise en abyme* might well stand behind the broader intertextual nexus of passages envisaged here. Moreover, as we saw above, Apollonius' engagement with the *Homeric Hymn* was signalled by the imitation of a unique expression, while other aspects of his narrative closely paralleled details in the episode. Virgil's approach to the reception of the hymn appears to be similar insofar as he includes the hook by way of the well-known and signal theft, thereby enabling the other narrative points of contact to come into focus.

Secondly, in both the *Homeric Hymn* and the *Aeneid* the theft of cattle leads to an aetiology of a cult site associated with a specific place that is still visible.[49] When Hermes sacrifices the two cows, he stretches out their hides on a rock and evidence of the event remains visible at the time of the poem's composition (*h.Herm*. 124–6):

> ῥινοὺς δ' ἐξετάνυσσε καταστυφέλῳ ἐνὶ πέτρῃ,
> ὡς ἔτι νῦν τὰ μέτασσα πολυχρόνιοι πεφύασιν
> δηρὸν δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκριτοι.

[47] Miller (2014) offers a comprehensive reading of the hymn.

[48] Williams (1973) *ad* 8.285–6; Eden (1975), 97; and now Miller (2014), 447–50, who concludes 'Whether this evident *aemulatio* conjures to mind the well-known conflict between Hercules and Apollo in myth, the various points of contact between the two passages invite us to consider Hercules' civilizing triumphs in the light of Apollo's victory at Delphi, and the Herculean cult established by Evander and his Arcadians against the horizon of another band of Greek travelers who also were founding a new cult in a strange land.'

[49] On the topic of aetiology in *Aeneid* 8, particularly with its association with Callimachus, see especially George (1974) and Tueller (2000).

> He stretched out the hides on a rough rock,
> as even now they have remained after how many years
> after these events.

Whatever the aetiology entails (e.g. the practice of stretching victims' hides),[50] the sacrifice is associated with a rock that continues to be recognized as evidence of the god's theft up to the time of the poet's life. After Hercules kills Cacus as vengeance for the theft of his cattle, there arose an altar and an attending cult commemorating this deed that is similarly celebrated during the lifetime of the poet (*Aen.* 8.268–72):

> Ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
> servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
> et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri.
> Hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
> dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.
>
> From that time his fame has been celebrated and our descendants
> have joyfully observed this day; Potitius was the founder
> while the house of Pinarius oversaw maintenance of the Herculean cult.
> He erected this altar in a grove, which always will be called
> greatest by us and which will always be greatest.

Whatever the original altar would have looked like prior to its reconstruction in Anio tufa in the second century BC or even after the Neronian fire that destroyed it (Tac. *Ann.* 15.41), it is not difficult to imagine its archaic form as something resembling a rugged rock (*καταστυφέλῳ ἐνὶ πέτρῃ*), particularly given the size of the monument, which makes the shared aetiology all the more intriguing, at least potentially; as noted above, in Apollonius' take on the *Homeric Hymn*, he too included the construction of an altar at which Heracles participated in a sacrifice. Furthermore, as scholars have noted, the subject of *statuit* is unclear; the punctuation of line 270, a modern editorial decision, will determine whether Potitius or Hercules was the builder of the altar. According to Livy 9.34.18, Propertius 4.9.65–70, and Ovid *Fasti* 1.579–82, Hercules founded the cult himself, though others ascribe its founding to Evander (e.g. Livy 1.7.3, D.H. 1.40.2, Tac. *Ann.* 15.41, Strabo 5.3.3, Macrobius 3.11.7). Although the allusion to the Hermes hymn would appear to support the former, I have to wonder if Virgil's ambiguous statement reflects

[50] See Vergados (2013), 336–7, who notes that we are dealing with the *aition* of a local cult, which of course is what the Hercules–Cacus story also celebrates.

or even, if you will, enacts the scholarly debate on the subject.[51] Regardless of how we construe the subject, both passages point to a sacred space on the ground that long after the event recalls a legendary theft.

The cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima is the first of a number of sites that Aeneas will visit in Rome (the Palatine and Capitoline hills, the Carmental gate, Lupercal, Argiletum, Janiculum, Carinae, Roman Forum). But as readers of the *Aeneid* have long recognized, inclusion of the Herculean episode represents more than a topographical aetiology. Rather, as intimated above, it establishes an unavoidable comparison between Hercules and Aeneas. In terms of the myth that lies at the heart of the *Homeric Hymn*, Cacus attempted to steal Hercules' herd, his source of power, and his path toward immortality. In the larger context of the *Aeneid*, it is Turnus who, by laying claim to Lavinia, through whom royal power ultimately comes,[52] threatens Aeneas' access to royal power and ultimately immortality. Moreover, as we have seen, both Hercules and Aeneas are katabatic heroes, a similarity invoked in this episode. These similarities, however, underscore a stark difference from the Homeric model that Virgil has engaged: there can be no reconciliation between Hercules and Cacus or Aeneas and Turnus as there was between Apollo and Hermes, Philadelphus and Ceraunus, or Idas and Idmon within the immediate context of the Argonautic allusion to the hymn. With regard to Aeneas any attempt to hijack manifest destiny in service of individual greed or ambition will meet a violent conclusion. At stake is not mere personal transformation and/or inclusion within adult community but the birth of a nation and the immortality of its hero.

I would also like to suggest that the Callimachean *Hymn to Zeus*, which features an unambiguous allusion to the Hermes hymn and its power struggle envisaged as cattle theft, models for the Roman reception of the *Homeric Hymn* the presence of a contemporary ruler, who in three of the four Augustan versions is unnamed in the episode. First of all, it is difficult not to see a close relationship between Hercules, Aeneas, and Augustus, all three of whom needed

[51] Livy, whose account closely resembles that of Virgil, shows a similar ambiguity at 1.7.10, about which, see Ogilvie (1965), 60. On the possibility that Virgil was playing with scholarly controversies in this episode, see Tueller (2000), 375–8.

[52] See Walcot (1979), 328 (*re* Hesiod *W&D* 161–5) and (1979), 350–1 (*re* Castor and Polydeuces versus Idas and Lynceus) for the close association between women and cattle as symbols of political struggle.

to use violence to defeat forces that are associated with the underworld and attempted to usurp their power base.[53] Within the same book, Virgil represents Augustus' victory over Antony and Cleopatra on Aeneas' shield.[54] Of particular note are the presence of the Salii and the description of the underworld that immediately precedes the battle of Actium (*Aen*. 8.663–70).[55] As mentioned above, Cacus' lair was described in terms of the underworld and, I would reiterate, the Salii participated in the first celebration of the cult of Hercules (*Aen*. 8.285–6). What is more, in celebration of his victory Augustus is said to have built 300 temples and before them all the altars were strewn with slaughtered bulls (*Aen*. 8.714–19). While the number is clearly exaggerated,[56] the founding of cults following victory over those who would deprive him of his power surely connects Augustus with the story of Hercules in Rome, and the first emperor's

[53] On the association between Hercules and Augustus, see Chapter 7.

[54] As Galinsky (1990), 287, noted, Augustus celebrated his victory over Antony and Cleopatra on 13 August, the very day on which the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima was celebrated; see D. C. Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar. Ancient Time and the Beginning of History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2007), 161–3 for further implications of the synchronism.

[55] On the association of the Salii with Hercules in this passage and with Augustus (most notably in Horace *C*. 1.37 which celebrates the Actian victory), see most recently Miller (2014), 451–5, 457–60. For general scholarly opinion regarding the association of Hercules with Aeneas and by extension Augustus, see, for example, V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963), 116–33; G. K. Galinsky, 'The Hercules–Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII', *AJPh* 87 (1966); Galinsky (1990); and G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus. Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1971), 141–9. B. Heiden, '*Laudes Herculeae*: Suppressed Savagery in the *Hymn to Hercules*, Verg. *A*. 8.285–305', *AJPh* 108 (1987) underscores the dark side of the hero implicit in the hymn as a reflection of Roman imperialism, while M. Labate, 'In Search of the Lost Hercules: Strategies of the Fantastic in the *Aeneid*', in P. Hardie (ed.), *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Literature and Culture* (Oxford, 2009) argues for a clear distinction between a barbaric Hercules and a civilized Aeneas. I find that Feeney (1986) and D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic. Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1991), 155–61, capture the ambiguity of the comparison in pointing out that such violence can be both divine and inhumane; cf. S. M. Braund, 'Virgil and the Cosmos: Religious and Philosophical Ideas', in C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge, 1997), 219. Aeneas' need to engage such brutality in his killing of Turnus, anticipated by Cacus' death at Hercules' hands, while tragic, serves Roman manifest destiny, much as Augustus' victories in civil war; see J. J. Clauss, 'Vergil's Aeneas: The Best of the Romans', in W. Anderson and L. N. Quartarone (eds), *Approaches to Teaching Vergil* (New York, 2002).

[56] Augustus claims to have built twelve new temples and restored eighty-two (*Res Gestae* 19), as noted by Fordyce (1977), 285.

act of piety as represented on the shield might well be considered Herculean. That Callimachus was in Virgil's mind near the climax of the shield's description has been demonstrated by Richard Thomas and Ruth Scodel in the mention of the Euphrates, six lines from the end of the book, that recalls the reference to the same river, unnamed, at the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.[57]

To sum up, while there are no clear verbal links as in Callimachus or Apollonius, the theft of cattle by leading them backwards to delude the owner has been reasonably seen by most scholars as a reference to the *Homeric Hymn*. To this we can now add the contrast between βία and δόλος, denial of the theft, the thief's home in a cave with its clear underworld associations, the presence of *mise en abyme*, the aetiology of an altar, and finally the general context of a quest. One final point: in Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, as we saw, there was an unnamed monarch incorporated within the poem. In Virgil's subtle engagement with the Hermes hymn, we likewise find an unnamed monarch in the background. And indeed that same monarch will be present in the Augustan versions of the Hercules–Cacus story, which, as mentioned, I will only touch on briefly.

Livy

Although it is not possible to determine the source or sources for Virgil's account,[58] Livy's presentation of the Hercules–Cacus story is

[57] See R. F. Thomas and R. Scodel, 'Vergil and the Euphrates', *AJPh* 105 (1984) and J. J. Clauss, 'Vergil and the Euphrates Revisited', *AJPh* 109 (1988). It is interesting that the name of the king honoured in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* is also unstated (*H.* 2.26–7), but telling that he who fights with his king also fights with Apollo, who is of course Augustus' patron god.

[58] While some have suspected Ennius, there is no clear evidence; see Sutton (1977), 291. That Virgil looked to Livy, suggested as a possibility by Eden (1975), 78, cannot be proved with certainty; given their chronological proximity, either could have looked at the other's work or both could have looked at a shared source that itself looks back to the Hermes hymn, along the lines of what Sutton (1977) suggested. While scholars favour the priority of Livy Books 1–10 (T. J. Luce, 'The Dating of *Livy's* First Decade', *TAPhA* 96 (1965); S. P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy, Books VI–X* (Oxford, 1997–2005), 1.109–10; C. S. Kraus, *Livy. Ab Urbe Condita. Book 6* (Cambridge, 1994), 5–6), B. Kytzler, 'Das früheste Aeneas-Zitat', *ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ. Untersuchungen zur klassischen Philologie und Geschichte des Altertums* 4 (1961) offers stunning proof that Virgil had sections of the *Aeneid* written as early as the late 30s, as Horace's citation of the opening of Book 2 shows. For more on this point, see n. 37 above.

remarkably similar and roughly contemporary.[59] The historian places the tale immediately after the contest between Romulus and Remus for *imperium* of the newly founded Roman city-state (1.6.4–1.7.4), the result of *regni cupido* ('lust for power'). The placement of the story of cattle theft, in addition to the employment of language very similar to Virgil's account of the theft (*Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves eximium quemque pulchritudine caudis in speluncam traxit*, 1.7.5; 'There when sleep had overcome him (Hercules), heavy as he was with food and wine, a local herdsman, Cacus by name, savage in his strength, was taken by the beauty of the cattle. Since he wanted to steal this booty, he knew that if he drove the herd into his cave, their tracks would lead their owner there in his search, so he turned the cattle around and dragged the most beautiful ones by their tails into his cave'), strongly suggests that Livy too saw the relevance of the mythic theme of the *Homeric Hymn* to a struggle for power. What is more, he describes Hercules' appearance as more august (*augustiorem*, 1.7.9), offers an aetiology for the term with the phrase *aucturum caelestium numerum* ('he would increase the number of the gods', 1.7.10), and when returning to Romulus immediately thereafter uses the same adjective of the first king (1.8.2). It is hard not to think that Livy had Augustus in mind.[60] The Livian passage thus not only underscores the connection between Hermes' cattle theft and fraternal conflict over status and power, but also provides another example of an allusion to a contemporary unnamed ruler within this same literary context. Similar to Virgil's engagement of the hymn, reconciliation is impossible both in the case of the legendary theft and in its immediate *comparandum*, the argument between brothers, which, as we saw, happens to be a central issue in the *Hymn to Hermes* as well as Callimachus' reception of the hymn.

Livy's take on the story thus includes the telling nature of the theft and the connection between cattle and kingship within the context of

[59] See Ogilvie (1965), 55–7. His account is similar to what we find in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* 1.39 and Ps.-Aurelius Victor *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 6.2.

[60] As Ogilvie (1965), 60 notes.

fraternal strife. Similar to Virgil's account, we find the presence of Augustus, unnamed, as was the ruler in Callimachus.

Propertius

While Propertius 4.9 takes the story in an entirely new direction, using the Hercules–Cacus story as an aetiological account of why women did not take part in the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima,[61] his account of the theft closely recalls those of Virgil and Livy with particular reference to Hermes' signature ruse (*hic, ne certa forent manifestae signa rapinae, | aversos cauda traxit in antra boves*, 4.9.11–12; 'lest there be unmistakable signs of obvious theft, he dragged the cattle backwards by the tail into his cave'). Moreover, similar to the *Aeneid* account, the story includes a hymn to Hercules, but this time, similar to Hermes in the *Homeric Hymn*, it is the hero who sings his own praises (4.37–50), providing another instance of a *mise en abyme* that goes back to the original model at the hands of the most insistently Callimachean of Roman poets.[62] What I find particularly notable is the fact that, similar to the Virgilian and Livian passages, here too the reception of the Hermes story culminates in an irreconcilable situation, aptly for Propertius, in a battle between the sexes. Missing is any noticeable reference to Augustus within the poem at hand. Yet, if we take a broader view of the poem as contributing to an overall aetiological book with a unified purpose, whose opening poem includes reference to Evander and cattle (4.1.4), then Augustus is indeed present by way of Propertius' elegiac account of the origin of the Palatine Temple of Apollo that celebrates victory in the Battle of Actium (4.6), which in fact represents a reprise of Virgil's ecphrastic narration of the battle and its triumphal association with the same temple within the same book as the Hercules–Cacus episode (*Aen*. 8.675–723).

[61] Feeney (1991), 158 n. 123 observes that Propertius based the hostility of the local women on that of the Hesperides during Heracles' search for water in Apollonius *Argonautica* 4.1441–3.

[62] The reference to the blinding of Tiresias at 4.9.57–8 likely has Callimachus' *Bath of Pallas* in mind. Was Propertius drawn to this story because of the presence of another Pallas in the *Aeneid*? On Propertius' embracing of Callimachus, a very large topic indeed, see most recently (and with reference to earlier work) A. Barchiesi, 'Roman Callimachus', in B. Acosta-Hughes, L. Lehnus, and S. A. Stephens (eds), *Brill's Companion to Callimachus* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 513–14 *et passim* and Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012), 244–57.

Ovid

Not to avoid a theme clearly important to Augustan writers, Ovid takes up the Hercules–Cacus story in his most Callimachean work,[63] the quintessentially aetiological *Fasti*. The context is the *Carmentalia*, a feast in honour of Evander's mother Carmentis/Carmenta (*F.* 1.461–586; reprised at 5.643–50). In a novel twist, Ovid focuses on the exile of Evander and his mother from Arcadia and their journey to the site of Rome, with reference to the future arrival of Aeneas, the story of the *Aeneid*, and the fate of her grandson Pallas. A short time after their immigration, Hercules arrives with Geryon's cattle and the now traditional story unfolds with clear reference, the literary hook, to the earlier Roman versions that lead back to the Hermes hymn (*nulla videt quaerens taciti vestigia furti: | traxerat aversos Cacus in antra ferox*, *F.* 1.549–50; 'in his search he sees no signs of the silent theft; the savage Cacus had dragged them backwards into his cave'). As it happens, Ovid's account offers no innovations regarding the core of the story. What makes his account different is that, contrary to the earlier Roman versions, he names the previously unnamed monarch. In her prediction of future Roman greatness, Carmentis foretells Augustan Rome, but with clear references to Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, and even Livia (*F.* 1.527–36):

> Iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
> adferet: Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos!
> tempus erit, cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,
> et fient ipso sacra colente deo,
> et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit:
> hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum.
> Inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,
> pondera caelesti mente paterna feret;
> utque ego perpetuis olim sacrabor in aris,
> sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit.
>
> Soon pious Aeneas will bring the sacred images and, also sacred,
> his father. Receive the Trojan gods, Vesta!
> There will come a time when the same one will guard you and the world,
> and sacrifices will be held with a god himself in charge,
> and the protection of the fatherland will reside with the Augustan family:

[63] See most recently Barchiesi (2011), 524–6 *et passim* and Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012), 267–9 (with references).

it is right that this house hold the reins of power.
From that time the son and grandson of a god, although he refuses it,
will bear the ancestral responsibilities with a heavenly mind.
And as I shall one day be consecrated at perpetual altars,
so too will Julia Augusta become a new divinity.

As we can observe, Ovid embeds the anticipated divinity of the imperial family in a story that concludes with the apotheosis of Hercules (*F.* 1.583–4):

Nec tacet Euandri mater prope tempus adesse,
Hercule quo tellus sit satis usa suo.

Nor is the mother of Evander silent about the approaching time
when the earth would be satisfied with Hercules' contributions.

What was implicit in the Virgilian, Livian, and Propertian accounts of the Hercules–Cacus narrative Ovid makes explicit: he identifies the unnamed ruler who is unequivocally associated with Hercules.[64] Similar to Virgil, Ovid's version of the cattle theft is linked with the war for supremacy in Latium over possession of Lavinia, with a nod to the future death of Pallas (*F.* 1.519–22), again confirming the endurance of the motif of cattle as indicators of royal power.

CONCLUSION

When Callimachus engages the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* as a major intertext in his *Hymn to Zeus*, he appears to have seen in its fraternal struggle over possession of cattle a mythical analogue for Philadelphus' rise to power over his older brother, a concept latent in the idea that cattle symbolized royal power. Apollonius, who shows evidence of having his eye on the Callimachean hymn elsewhere in his epic, cites a unique phrase from the Hermes hymn and includes clear parallels between his narrative of the Argonautic scene surrounding the phrase and the latter hymn, all of which is set within an epic quest involving the retrieval of a herd animal's fleece and an implicit struggle over royal power resulting from fraternal strife.

[64] In an unrelated passage, Horace *Odes* 3.3.9–12 has Augustus sit alongside Hercules drinking nectar.

At some point in time, either beginning with Virgil or Livy or some time before, a native Italian myth involving a local Roman figure became attached to a Herculean *parergon* and incorporated a specific feature of the Hermes myth—the theft of cattle by dragging them backwards—into its narrative. The extant Augustan versions, especially Virgil's, appear to have engaged some of the central features of the *Homeric Hymn*: the thief's home as a cave, denial of the theft, a hymn within a hymn, fraternal strife, and cattle as symbols for royal power. What Callimachus appears to have contributed to the reception of the hymn was the embedding of an unnamed monarch, a trope that Ovid inverts by naming names. Calllimachus' appropriation of the *Homeric Hymn* in celebration of Philadelphus and Apollonius' subtle engagement of the same hymn by directing readers thereto by way of a single uncontestable point of contact (allowing the narrative itself to complete the identification of the intertext) provided the model for the Augustan reception of the *Homeric Hymn*.[65]

[65] I would like to thank James O'Hara for reading the very first draft of this chapter and all of the participants of the conference for their comments, especially Matthew Carter, Jenny Clay, Allison Keith, John Miller, Jason S. Nethercut, Ivana Petrovic, Nicholas Richardson, and Athanassios Vergados, who followed up with additional observations, and above all Andrew Faulkner for his kindness and post-conference feedback.

4

The *Homeric Hymns* and Horatian Lyric

Stephen Harrison

INTRODUCTION

It seems certain that the *Homeric Hymns* were freely available to the Latin poets of Horace's time: the use of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* by Virgil in *Aeneid* 1 seems indubitable,[1] and the appropriation of the *Homeric Hymns* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has been clearly demonstrated.[2] We should always remember that the *Homeric Hymns* were thought in antiquity to be part of the authentic Homeric corpus and thus enjoyed commensurate literary prestige as the work of the great poet. It is perhaps surprising that scholarship has shown little interest in the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* by Horace.[3]

The preserved collection of the *Homeric Hymns* presents two very different kinds of item, all in hexameters: the brief (often very brief) invocation of a particular god, and a longer narrative of the god's deeds and character. In the transmitted series of thirty-three hymns,

[1] See e.g. A. Barchiesi, 'Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'Eneide', *A&A* 40 (1994), 116–17; S. J. Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford, 2007), 226–9.

[2] See e.g. A. Barchiesi, 'Venus' Masterplot: Ovid and the Homeric Hymns', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds), *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's* Metamorphoses *and its Reception* (Cambridge, 1999); Y. Syed, 'Ovid's Use of the Hymnic Genre in the Metamorphoses', in A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, and S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome* (Stuttgart, 2004).

[3] There is nothing listed in N. Holzberg, *Horaz: eine Bibliographie* (Munich, 2007), and G. La Bua, *L'inno nella letteratura poetica latina* (Gerni, 1999) does not tackle the issue.

only six are longer than 23 lines: these are two to Demeter (495 lines), three to Apollo (546 lines), four to Hermes (580 lines), five to Aphrodite (293 lines), seven to Dionysus (59 lines), and nineteen to Pan (49 lines). The twenty-seven shorter hymns may have been especially attractive to Horace in the *Odes*, as they are much more like lyric poems in length; as we shall see, the *Odes* sometimes seem to imitate the texture of these shorter hymns, and sometimes seem to adapt themes from the longer ones to the smaller compass of lyric poetry.

In general, the prominence of the first person poet in the *Homeric Hymns*, at least at the beginning and end of poems, is an element common with lyric and especially with Horace, whose sophisticated deployment of the first person is well known.[4]

Some general interest in the hymning of various divinities is found in *Odes* 1.12, which in its potential list of divine subjects for the poet includes a number of the gods who receive prominent *Homeric Hymns*, together with brief indications of their qualities: at 1.12.13–32 we find Jupiter/Zeus, not in fact a subject of the *Homeric Hymns*, followed by Pallas Athene (*Hymn* 11), Liber/Dionysus (*Hymn* 1 and others), Diana/Artemis (*Hymn* 9), Apollo (*Hymn* 3), Hercules (*Hymn* 15), and the Dioscuri (*Hymns* 17 and 33). The first five gods in this list also make up four of the six gods addressed in Callimachus' *Hymns*, beginning with the same one (Zeus) but otherwise not especially similar in order (2: Apollo, 3: Artemis, 4: Delos, 5: The Bath of Pallas, 6: Demeter). These parallels are generally indicative rather than anything else, and suggest that the poet knows traditions of poetic praise for such divinities, which could be derived from lyric as much as hexameter sources.

In what follows I will pursue possible allusions to the *Homeric Hymns* in Horace's *Odes* and the *Carmen Saeculare*. I will concentrate for the most part on potential links with the longer and better-known hymns, but I will also consider connections between the brief hymn form which predominates in the collection of *Homeric Hymns* and Horace's use of the brief lyric hymn in the *Odes*.

[4] For Horatian manipulation of the figure of the first-person poet in the *Odes*, see e.g. N. M. Horsfall, 'The First Person Singular in Horace's *Carmina*', in P. E. Knox and C. Foss (eds), *Style and Tradition: Studies in Honor of Wendell Clausen* (Stuttgart, 1998).

POSSIBLE TRACES OF THE LONGER *HOMERIC HYMNS* IN THE *ODES*

Homeric Hymn to Hermes and *Odes* 1.10

The issue of mediating texts mentioned above is clearly raised in the opening stanzas of *Odes* 1.10, Horace's lyric hymn to Mercury (1–12):

> Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,
> qui feros cultus hominum recentum
> uoce formasti catus et decorae
> more palaestrae,
> te canam, magni Iouis et deorum
> nuntium curuaeque lyrae parentem,
> callidum quicquid placuit iocoso
> condere furto.
> Te, boues olim nisi reddidisses
> per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
> uoce dum terret, uiduus pharetra
> risit Apollo.
>
> Mercury, easy-tongued grandson of Atlas
> Who shaped the fierce ways of fresh-born men
> With vocal skill, and with the custom of the fine
> School of wrestling,
> You I will sing, messenger of great Jupiter
> And all divinities, father of the curved lyre,
> Cunning to conceal whatever you wished
> In witty theft.
> Apollo once, while he terrified you as a boy with threatening shouts,
> If you did not return his slyly stolen cattle,
> Separated from his quiver of arrows
> Laughed at your antics.

Here the familiar plot of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* is retold (the invention of the lyre and the theft of Apollo's cattle, the reconciliation of the two gods), but at least one detail (Apollo's being robbed of his quiver, 11–12) seems to be taken not from the *Homeric Hymn* but from the later lost lyric hymn by Alcaeus,[5] the general contents of which beyond its preserved first stanza (= Alcaeus 308 (b) L/P)

[5] The *Homeric Hymn* envisages this theft as a possibility (514–17), but it does not actually happen; for the likelihood that it did occur in Alcaeus, see R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace, Odes I* (Oxford, 1970), 132.

can be partly reconstructed from a passage of Himerius (= Alcaeus 307 (c) L/P).

However, some use of the *Homeric Hymn* also seems likely here. The laughter of Apollo mentioned by Horace is something of a theme of the *Hymn* (*h.Herm.* 281, 420), and the use of a notionally Homeric source alongside Alcaeus' poem is perhaps further supported by the last two stanzas of Horace's poem, which plainly point to two famous Homeric episodes, in 1.10.13–16 to the embassy of Priam to Achilles in *Iliad* 24, in 1.10.17–20 to the famous appearance of Hermes as *psychopompos* for the first time in extant Greek literature as he escorts the suitors to the Underworld in *Odyssey* 24. The symmetry of balancing the two endings together in two successive Horatian stanzas which are themselves in final position in their poem is a neat structural touch. These likely Homeric allusions support the idea that the *Homeric Hymn* also contributes to the texture of this poem.

Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and *Odes* 4.15

The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* naturally presented material of interest to Roman culture, narrating as it does the origin of Rome's founder Aeneas in the sexual encounter between Aphrodite/Venus and the Trojan prince Anchises on Mt Ida. The famous aretalogy of Venus at the beginning of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* plainly draws on that which begins the *Homeric Hymn* (*DRN* 1.1–4 and 18–20 on the universal power of love pick up *h.Aphr.* 2–6), and as already noted above, the first book of the *Aeneid* wittily reworks the meeting of Anchises and Aphrodite in their son Aeneas' encounter with his mother Venus in disguise in the woods at Carthage.

This hymn may be alluded to in a very prominent position, in the last stanza of Horace's final book of odes (*Odes* 4.15.25–32):

> Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
> inter iocosi munera Liberi
> cum prole matronisque nostris
> rite deos prius adprecati,
> uirtute functos more patrum duces
> Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
> Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
> progeniem Veneris canemus.

And we, on days of work and festival,
Amid the gifts of playful Bacchus
With our offspring and wives
Having first duly prayed to the gods
Will sing of our leaders who have done their virtuous part,
As our fathers did, in song mixed with the Lydian flute,
Of Troy, Anchises and the progeny
Of Venus the gentle.

There seems little doubt that these final lines allude to the recently published *Aeneid* with its story of Aeneas and Rome's Trojan ancestry, perhaps presenting a radically compressed lyric version of Virgil's epic,[6] but the sequence Troy/Anchises/Venus and her offspring, especially the prominence of Anchises, could also be taken as recalling the basic shape of the narrative of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, which takes place near Troy, stars Anchises (a relatively minor figure in the *Aeneid*) as well as the goddess, and lays considerable emphasis on the couple's son, his descendants (*h.Aphr.* 196–7), and his future care; Aphrodite gives detailed instructions for the upbringing of Aeneas (*h.Aphr.* 256–80), perhaps alluded to in Horace's (admittedly highly conventional) epithet *almae*. Richard Thomas has noted that the close of Horace's poem with its indication of future performance may look to the last two lines of the *Homeric Hymn*, with their greeting of Aphrodite and similar indication of song to follow (*h.Aphr.* 292–3):[7]

Χαῖρε θεὰ Κύπροιο ἐϋκτιμένης μεδέουσα·
σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον

Greetings, goddess who rules over well-tilled Cyprus:
Beginning from you, I will move to another hymn.

More patrum here could point to literary as well as literal parentage: the themes of Troy, Anchises, and Venus may come from Greek literary 'ancestors' such as Homer as well as representing the Roman tradition of religious *carmina*. Here in the last lines of Horace's last ode we may have traces of a *Homeric Hymn* as well as allusion to the *Aeneid*.

[6] See Harrison (2007), 204–6.

[7] R. Thomas, *Horace: Odes IV and Carmen Saeculare* (Cambridge, 2011), 269. The promise of further song about a divinity is of course a formulaic concluding topos in the collection of *Homeric Hymns*: see also 2.495, 3.541, 4.580, 5.293, 6.21, 10.6, 18.12, 19.49, 25.7, 27.22, 28.18, 29.14, 30.19, 33.19.

Homeric Hymn to Demeter and *Odes* 3.2

Horace in the *Odes* notably avoids the key story of this hymn, the kidnap of Proserpina, a story which was so favoured by Ovid that he used it twice, in *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*;[8] perhaps the topic is too elevated for lyric, with its divine and cosmic elements (in Late Antiquity it alone is the subject of Claudian's three-book hexameter epic *De Raptu Proserpinae*). But the final section of the hymn, which recounts the foundation of the Eleusinian mysteries (*h.Dem.* 470–95), finds a possible echo in the second Roman Ode (*Odes* 3.2.25–30):

> Est et fideli tuta silentio
> merces: uetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
> uulgarit arcanae, sub isdem
> sit trabibus fragilemque mecum
> soluat phaselon; saepe Diespiter
> neglectus incesto addidit integrum.
>
> There is also safe profit in loyal silence:
> I forbid the man who has divulged
> The rite of secret Ceres, to be beneath the same roof-beams
> Or untie the fragile bark in my company:
> Often has Jupiter, if scorned,
> Included the honest with the wicked in punishment.

The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* has the earliest exhortation to keep secret the mysteries of the Eleusinia (*h.Dem.* 473–9):

> ἡ δὲ κιοῦσα θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι
> δεῖξε, Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ,
> Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῷ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν,
> δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν, καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι,
> Τριπτολέμῳ τε Πολυξείνῳ τ', ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ Διοκλεῖ,
> σεμνά, τά τ' οὔ πως ἔστι παρεξίμεν οὔτε πυθέσθαι,
> οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν.
>
> She went and showed the practice of the rites
> To the law-giving kings, Triptolemus and Diocles whipper of horses,
> And mighty Eumolpus and Celeus, leader of hosts,
> And she revealed the rites to all of them,
> Triptolemus and Polyxeinus, and Diocles too,

[8] The two versions are famously compared by S. E. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone. Ovid and the Self-Conscious Muse* (Cambridge, 1987a).

> Revered rites, which it is not possible to depart from or enquire about,
> Nor to speak of: for a great reverence for the gods restrains utterance.

Here Demeter/Ceres reveals her mysteries to kings and the poet stresses their secret nature. Of course the need for initiate silence about the Eleusinian mysteries and the dire penalties for revelation are commonplace ideas,[9] but it is interesting to note the connection of the mysteries with the rulers of Eleusis, who are the prime initial beneficiaries of Demeter's revelations. Given Suetonius' report that Augustus himself was an Eleusinian initiate who made an effort to keep the secrets of the mysteries (*Div.Aug.* 93), it is tempting to connect this Eleusinian royal guardianship of the cult at its origins in the *Homeric Hymn* with modern interpretations of Horace's lines as reflecting the poet's personal loyalty to the ruler Augustus. For example Nisbet and Rudd suggest that 'the mysteries are an allegory for state secrets', an interpretation shared by West's earlier commentary.[10]

Thus Augustus and his trusted circle, of which the poet implies he is a member, provide a modern parallel for the king Celeus and his peers, with whom the initiate shares the safeguarding of hidden and vital information. The loyalty of the poet in Horace's ode in keeping the *princeps*' political secrets could thus evoke the *Homeric Hymn*'s account of the foundation of the Eleusinian mysteries as secrets shared by rulers and their circle of loyal supporters.

Homeric Hymn to Pan and *Odes* 3.18

Odes 3.18 is a short hymnic-style address to Faunus:

> Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
> per meos finis et aprica rura
> lenis incedas abeasque paruis
> aequus alumnis,
> si tener pleno cadit haedus anno 5
> larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
> uina craterae, uetus ara multo
> fumat odore.

[9] See e.g. N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 304–8.
[10] R. G. M. Nisbet and N. Rudd, *A Commentary on Horace, Odes III* (Oxford, 2004), 32; D. West, *Horace Odes III: Aere Perennius* (Oxford, 2002), 28.

Ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
cum tibi Nonae redeunt Decembres,
festus in pratis uacat otioso
cum boue pagus;
inter audacis lupus errat agnos,
spargit agrestis tibi silua frondes,
gaudet inuisam pepulisse fossor
ter pede terram.

Faunus, lover of nymphs who flit away,
Tread through my lands and sunny fields
In gentleness, and leave showing kindness
To my tiny nurslings,
If a soft kid a whole year old has been offered to you,
And abundant streams of wine are there in the bowl,
Close friend to Venus, and the ancient altar
Smokes with full savour.
All the herd sports on the grassy plain
When your Nones of December come round,
And the village on holiday takes its ease in the meadows
With the freed oxen:
The wolf wanders amongst the emboldened lambs,
The rustic wood spreads its branches for you,
The ditcher joys to pound three times with his foot
The earth he has hated.

This poem makes explicit allusion to the Roman Faunalia, celebrated in December, though as commentators note its notional season seems earlier in the year given the allusion to sunny weather and new-born animals. Faunus is the Roman equivalent of Pan, and this occasional setting is one of several points of contact with the preserved *Homeric Hymn to Pan* (19); as Oliver Thomas has argued, the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* (like several others in the collection) appears to mark a festival or ritual performance, though it is difficult to establish which and where.[11] Others are the roaming of Pan in rural landscapes (*h.Hom.* 19.3), his association with nymphs (*h.Hom.* 19.3, 19–20), and his guardianship of the flocks (*h.Hom.* 19.5, 11), though there are also divergences: the *Homeric Hymn* lays particular emphasis on Pan's hunting of wild creatures, on his playing of music, and on his fathering by Hermes in Arcadia, while the Horatian ode pays more attention to the Roman

[11] Thomas (2011).

elements of ritual sacrifice and holiday festivity. One detail in Horace may be a pointed allusion to the *Homeric Hymn*: the emphasis there on Pan's fierceness and his killing of wild animals in the mountain glens (*h.Hom.* 19.10–14) may underlie the poet's request for Pan to be gentle, though the idea is conventional enough.

Here, then, we see traditional elements linked with the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* modified to fit the Roman Faunus, firmly located in the Roman calendar on the Nones of December and in the Italian landscape of Horace's Sabine estate (3.18.2 *meos fines*). A similarly hymnic characterization of Faunus can be found at the start of *Odes* 1.17 (1–4):

> Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
> mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
> defendit aestatem capellis
> usque meis pluviosque ventos.
>
> Swift Faunus often exchanges the hill
> Of Sabine Lucretilis for that of Greek Lykaion
> And always wards off fiery summer
> And rainy winds from my she-goats.

Here once again we find the Homeric elements of Pan/Faunus the wanderer and protector of flocks, and once again these are accommodated to the Italian setting of Horace's Sabine estate. This ode soon diverts into other, more erotic material, but its opening clearly looks to the traditional hymnic description of Pan.

Homeric Hymn to Dionysus

Just as they do not utilize the central kidnap narrative of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, so Horace's *Odes* do not pick up the main topic of the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (7)—the god's escape from Tyrrhenian pirates. Again, this is a contrast with Ovid, who reworks the *Homeric Hymn* in the *Metamorphoses* (3.572–700) in combination with an episode from Euripides' *Bacchae*,[12] and includes a hymnic passage at the start of *Metamorphoses* 4 (13–30) which briefly incorporates the escape story (4.23–4), as well as with other Latin poets who

[12] See A. Barchiesi and G. Rosati, *Ovidio Metamorfosi II: Libri III–IV* (Milan, 2007), 221–3, and Chapter 5, p. 95.

allude to or retell the hymn's story of the god's escape (Propertius 3.17.25–6, Seneca *Oedipus* 449–67). Appropriately enough for a collection of lyric poetry, Horace's two odes to Bacchus (2.19 and 3.25) look primarily to the god's role as inspirer of lyric poetry, and the narrative elements of the first recall Euripides' *Bacchae* and the tradition of Dionysus as conqueror later seen in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*.

Here then is a conscious avoidance of the key episode in the Dionysiac myth narrated by the *Homeric Hymns*, perhaps because the figure of Bacchus in Horace's odes already carries two important functions. Not only does Bacchus serve as the inspiring and ecstatic god of wine and poetry; he also presents an express parallel for Augustus as the son of a god who himself became a divinity, seen, for example, at *Odes* 3.2.9–16:

> Hac arte Pollux et uagus Hercules
> enisus arces attigit igneas,
> quos inter Augustus recumbens
> purpureo bibet ore nectar;
> hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
> uexere tigres indocili iugum
> collo trahentes; hac Quirinus
> Martis equis Acheronta fugit . . .
>
> Through this trait Pollux and earth-ranging Hercules
> Strained and attained the fiery citadels of heaven;
> Amongst them Augustus will recline
> And drink divine nectar with rosy mouth.
> Through this, father Bacchus, you merited haulage
> By your tigers, dragging the yoke on untamed necks;
> Through this Quirinus escaped Acheron,
> Carried by the horses of Mars . . .

This politically weighty and encomiastic analogy, shared by other Augustan poets (cf. Virgil *Aeneid* 6.801–5, Ovid *Amores* 3.8.51–2), might be hard to square with the somewhat baroque picture of Bacchus/Dionysus presented in the *Homeric Hymn*.

SHORTER HYMNS AND LYRIC FORM: *ODES* 1.21

As noted at the outset, the vast majority of items in the transmitted collection of the *Homeric Hymns* are brief encomiastic addresses to

gods, with only six of the thirty-three exceeding a length of 23 lines. This brevity provides a general quantitative affinity with Horace's *Odes*, which average out at just under 30 lines each; it also provides a general quantitative contrast with the other collection of hymns which is particularly significant for Horace, the six of Callimachus, which average out at 180 lines each. With this in mind, let us consider one of Horace's briefer *Odes* which might respond to this feature of the *Homeric Hymn* collection, 1.21:

Dianam tenerae dicite uirgines,
intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium
  Latonamque supremo
  dilectam penitus Ioui;
uos laetam fluuiis et nemorum coma,
quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido,
  nigris aut Erymanthi
  siluis aut uiridis Gragi;
uos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus
natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis
  insignemque pharetra
  fraternaque umerum lyra.
Hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem
pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in
  Persas atque Britannos
  uestra motus aget prece.

Speak of Diana, girls of tender years,
And you, boys, of the unshorn god of Cynthus,
And of Latona so loved
By Jupiter the supreme:
You, girls, speak of she who joys in streams and the leaf-hair of groves,
Wherever it projects on frozen Algidus,
Or in the dark woods of Erymanthus
Or those of green Gragus:
You, boys, raise repeatedly in praise
Tempe, and Delos, birthplace of Apollo,
And his shoulder splendid
With quiver and his brother's lyre.
He will drive away from our people and our first man Caesar
War that brings tears, famine that brings suffering
And turn them against the Parthians and Britons
Once moved by your prayer.

Here we have a miniature hymn to the Palatine triad whose cult-statues appeared in Augustus' recently consecrated temple of Apollo

(cf. Propertius 2.31.15–16).[13] The primary literary model is the slightly longer lyric hymn to Diana at Catullus 34,[14] represented as sung by a choir of girls, which also mentions Latona and Delos (but not Apollo), and which similarly finishes with a prayer for the Roman people, but there are clear links with one of the shorter *Homeric Hymns to Artemis* (27), slightly more substantial than Horace's ode at 22 lines:

Ἄρτεμιν ἀείδω χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινὴν
παρθένον αἰδοίην ἐλαφηβόλον ἰοχέαιραν
αὐτοκασιγνήτην χρυσαόρου Ἀπόλλωνος
ἣ κατ᾽ ὄρη σκιόεντα καὶ ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας
ἄγρῃ τερπομένη παγχρύσεα τόξα τιταίνει
πέμπουσα στονόεντα βέλη· τρομέει δὲ κάρηνα
ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ἰαχεῖ δ᾽ ἔπι δάσκιος ὕλη
δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς θηρῶν, φρίσσει δέ τε γαῖα
πόντος τ᾽ ἰχθυόεις· ἡ δ᾽ ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχουσα
πάντῃ ἐπιστρέφεται θηρῶν ὀλέκουσα γενέθλην.
αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν τερφθῇ θηροσκόπος ἰοχέαιρα
εὐφρήνῃ δὲ νόον, χαλάσασ᾽ εὐκαμπέα τόξα,
ἔρχεται ἐς μέγα δῶμα κασιγνήτοιο φίλοιο
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Δελφῶν ἐς πίονα δῆμον
Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα.
ἔνθα κατακρεμάσασα παλίντονα τόξα καὶ ἰοὺς
ἡγεῖται χαρίεντα περὶ χροὶ κόσμον ἔχουσα,
ἐξάρχουσα χορούς· αἱ δ᾽ ἀμβροσίην ὄπ᾽ ἰεῖσαι
ὑμνεῦσιν Λητὼ καλλίσφυρον ὡς τέκε παῖδας
ἀθανάτων βουλῇ τε καὶ ἔργμασιν ἔξοχ᾽ ἀρίστους,
Χαίρετε τέκνα Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς ἠϋκόμοιο·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ᾽ ἀοιδῆς.

Artemis I sing, she of the golden spindle and hunting-cry,
Revered maiden, deer-slaying dealer of arrows,
Full sister to Apollo, he of the golden sword;
Who through the shadowy mountains and windy peaks,
Rejoicing in the hunt, bends her bow all of gold,
Dispatching grievous shafts; and the heads of the high mountains
Tremble, and the shady wood sends out a fearful cry
From the clamour of beasts, and the earth shivers,

[13] The Palatine link is made briefly by R. G. Mayer, *Horace Odes I* (Cambridge, 2012), 162.

[14] See e.g. M. C. J. Putnam, *Poetic Interplay: Catullus and Horace* (Princeton, NJ, 2006), 120–1.

Along with the fishy sea: and she, possessed of a mighty heart,
Wheels around in every direction destroying the progeny of beasts.
But when the beast-watching arrow-dealer has taken her pleasure
And cheered her mind, she looses her bent bow
And goes to the great seat of her dear brother
Phoebus Apollo, to the rich community of the Delphians,
Making ready the fair dance of the Muses and Graces.
There, hanging up her curved bow and arrows,
She goes in front, with elegant adornment around her body,
Leading the dances: and her partners, projecting their immortal voices,
Celebrate Leto of the fair ankles, how she bore children
Who were by far the best of the gods in counsel and deeds.
Greetings, children of Zeus and Leto of the fair tresses:
And I will have mind of you, and of another song too.

Here there is a clear shared element with the Horatian ode in Artemis/Diana's love of mountain and forest locations; the Greek poem associates this with hunting, while the Roman poem sees Diana as more generally a nature god, no doubt with an implicit link to the major cult of Diana Nemorensis at Nemi.[15] Note too how both poems include the triad of Diana, Apollo, and Leto/Latona: this is in fact an element shared with the major *Hymn to Apollo*, where the poet links the three at the start (*h.Ap.* 14–18), while the Delian chorus of maidens (see under Hymnic Occasion and Performance below) are presented as singing to that same triad before turning to tales of heroes of old (*h.Ap.* 157–9). Both poems also refer to a key temple of Apollo: the hymn explicitly evokes a visit by Artemis to the shrine of Apollo at Delphi, while the ode (as already noted) looks implicitly to the recently erected Palatine temple at Rome. Though the final national prayer of the Horatian ode owes something to Catullus, such a closural request for the god's help or favour by the poet is a regular feature of the *Homeric Hymns* (cf. 2.495, 6.20, 10.5, 11.5, 15.9, 19.48, 22.7, 23.4, 24.4–5, 25.6, 26.12, 30.18, 31.17), including a similar prayer for the poet's city (13.3). Here perhaps we can see the use of the shorter *Homeric Hymn* tradition in a similarly sized Latin lyric.

[15] On this cult and its contemporary prominence under Augustus (whose mother came from nearby Aricia: Cicero *Phil.* 3.16, Suetonius *Aug.* 4), see C. M. C. Green, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia* (Cambridge, 2007), 34–54.

HYMNIC OCCASION AND PERFORMANCE—*CARMEN SAECULARE*

Finally, I turn to the only Horatian lyric which is known to share two key elements with the *Homeric Hymns*: an original context of performance and a ritual framework within real divine cult. This is the *Carmen Saeculare*, famously written for performance by a choir of twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls at the *Ludi Saeculares* at Rome on 3 June 17 BC.[16] The *Carmen* (uniquely amongst Horatian lyrics) is represented as the utterance of this mixed choir. It might be argued that this choral element differentiates the *Carmen* from the *Homeric Hymns*, since although an original performance context is likely for all the *Homeric Hymns*, this is almost always envisaged as performance by an individual rhapsode;[17] but in fact there are clear elements of choric performance visible in these texts. Perhaps the most famous example is the end of the Delian part of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, which gives an account of a festival of Apollo on Delos; there the poet addresses a chorus of Delian maidens who are present at the performance, presumably as accompanying dancers (*h.Ap.* 171–8).

Several elements in the *Carmen* look to the hymnic tradition which begins in the *Homeric Hymns*, though it is hard to establish particular parallels. The divine invocations of the poem's first half (1–36) present some analogues: the linking of Apollo and Diana in praise (1–8) is a feature of the brief *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27) and of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (see section on Shorter Hymns and Lyric Form above), while the praise of the sun-god, identified by Horace with Phoebus Apollo (*CS* 9–11), is the topic of the brief *Homeric Hymn to Helios* (31: both sun-gods are celebrated for their shining chariots—*CS* 9–10, *h.Hom.* 31.15), and the address of the moon (*CS* 35–6), identified by Horace with Diana, is the topic of the brief *Homeric Hymn to Selene* (32).

A further element in the *Carmen* which might reflect the tradition of the *Homeric Hymns* is its clear location in the sacral geography of

[16] For the well-known inscription recording the occasion, see CIL 6.32323, now conveniently accessible in Thomas (2011), 173–6; for a convenient summary of events at the festival, see Thomas (2011), 53–7.

[17] For the evidence, see A. Faulkner, 'Introduction', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011b), 16–18.

the city of Rome and its association with a particularly prestigious festival. In terms of geography, apart from the explicit allusions to Rome at lines 11 and 37, we have clear references to the bank of the Tiber (38) and the temples of Apollo on the Palatine (65) and Diana on the Aventine (69). In terms of the festival, the 'sacred time' and its prediction in the Sibylline books are mentioned early on (4–5), along with its frequency of 110 years (21). These twin elements are surely parallel to the likely locations of several of the major *Homeric Hymns* in the context of particular festivals at particular shrines (the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* at Eleusis, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* at Delos and Delphi, the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* at Olympia), even if the politics of Olympus and larger cosmic issues often overshadow these local elements.[18]

CONCLUSION

This piece has attempted to track the traces of the *Homeric Hymns* and their poetic tradition in Horace's *Odes* and the *Carmen Saeculare*. Often it is not possible to say whether we are dealing with direct and active intertextuality with the *Homeric Hymns*, or with hymnic elements mediated via another (often lost) source, but I think there is enough parallel material to suggest active Horatian engagement with what was a prestigious collection of poems, well known at Rome and used by both Virgil and Horace. In the case of the longer hymns, their key plots seem to be used on a number of occasions, though without extensive re-narration; and it is interesting to note that some major episodes such as Dionysus and the pirates in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* or the kidnap of Persephone in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* may be excluded for aesthetic and ideological reasons, while the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* is clearly of interest to a Roman audience for its narrative of the birth of Aeneas, and the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* has a clear place in a lyric collection given its aetiology of the lyre, while the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* is modified

[18] For a balanced view on this tension, see Faulkner (2011b), 21, and for the *Homeric Hymns* as 'musical offerings' to the gods, see C. Calame, 'The Homeric Hymns as Poetic Offerings. Musical and Ritual Relationships with the Gods', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011).

into a briefer encomium of the rather more Italian Faunus. In the case of the brief hymns, by far the majority of items in the collection, I have tried to suggest that these shorter pieces offered particularly attractive models for Horatian lyrics of similar volume. I have also argued that the sole performed hymn amongst Horace's lyrics, the *Carmen Saeculare*, owes some of its framework to the *Homeric Hymns*. In sum, in comparing the *Homeric Hymns* and Horatian lyric, we can learn something about cultural change, and about how differences of genre, period, and social context can have their effects in the reception of a particular poetic tradition.

5

Ovid's Bacchic Helmsman and *Homeric Hymn 7*

John F. Miller

The *Homeric Hymns* represent an underexplored area in the intertextuality of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Recent studies have shown that Ovid does refer directly to the *Hymns*, and not simply to Hellenistic intermediaries (though the latter are important too).[1] In a fundamental paper Alessandro Barchiesi argued that the whole collection of the *Homeric Hymns*—whatever its exact form in the Augustan period—helped to shape the presentation of power in the *Metamorphoses* and how Ovid imagines the divine.[2] A conspicuous instance that would repay further study is the tale of Dionysus and the Tuscan pirates from *Homeric Hymn* 7, which, in *Metamorphoses* 3, Ovid folds into his version of Pentheus confronting Bacchus at Thebes. Imitating a sequence from Euripides' *Bacchae* (434–518), Ovid has Pentheus order Bacchus seized, after which the royal servants present to the king one of the god's followers instead (3.562–76). The captive in Euripides is Dionysus himself disguised as a Bacchic acolyte, which

[1] See S. E. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone. Ovid and the Self-Conscious Muse* (Cambridge, 1987a) on the *h.Dem.* and Ceres and Proserpina in *Met.* 5; Y. Syed, 'Ovid's Use of the Hymnic Genre in the Metamorphoses', in A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, and S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome* (Stuttgart, 2004) on the *h.Herm.* lying behind several moments in *Met.* 1 and 2; A. Barchiesi, 'Venus' Masterplot: Ovid and the Homeric Hymns', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds), *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's* Metamorphoses *and its Reception* (Cambridge, 1999) for intertextual dynamics with the *h.Aphr.*, *h.Ap.*, and more generally.

[2] Cf. Barchiesi (1999).

intertext perhaps makes us wonder at the start of Ovid's scene whether Bacchus likewise lurks in the form of the *comes famulusque sacrorum*, the god's companion and attendant at his rites (3.574).[3] That Bacchic devotee gives his name as Acoetes and his homeland as Maeonia (that is, Etruria or Tyrrhenian territory; cf. 3.576, if genuine).

In the course of his rambling tale (3.582–691), Acoetes gradually identifies himself as the helmsman who defended Bacchus against the threats of his fellow sailors after they seized him on a beach and was in return saved by Bacchus, while his impious mates leapt off the ship and were transformed into dolphins. Readers will recognize this as the featured tale of *Homeric Hymn* 7, and it may seem that Ovid has grafted that hymnic narrative onto the *Bacchae*, one well-known Greek text onto another,[4] in an elegant *contaminatio* of models and a virtuoso mixing of genres such as one finds throughout the *Metamorphoses*.[5] But the degree of Ovid's originality here is contested in the scholarship, as is, in particular, the extent to which he appeals to a subsequent version of the story of Dionysus and the pirates rather than to its earliest literary occurrence in *Homeric Hymn* 7.[6] Here

[3] e.g. F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen: Kommentar Buch I–III* (Heidelberg, 1969), 588–9; A. Barchiesi and G. Rosati, *Ovidio Metamorfosi II: Libri III–IV* (Milan, 2007), 222–3. Cf. D. E. Oppenheim, 'Pentheus (Eine Quellenuntersuchung zu Ovid, *Metam.* III 511–733)', *WS* 31 (1909), 99, countering 'eine unberechtigte Vertauschung von Analogie und Identität'.

[4] Reception of Eur. *Bacch.*: F. Mac Góráin, *Tragedy and the Dionysiac in Virgil's Aeneid* (Diss., Oxford, 2009), 197–201 and F. Mac Góráin, 'Virgil's Bacchus and the Roman Republic', in J. Farrell and D. Nelis (eds), *Augustan Poetry and the Roman Republic* (Oxford, 2013); G. Sauron, 'L'actualité des *Bacchantes* d'Euripide dans les conflits idéologiques de la fin de l'époque hellénistique', in F.-H. Massa-Pairault and G. Sauron (eds), *Images et modernité hellénistiques. Appropriation et représentation du monde d'Alexandre à César* (Rome, 2007). Influence of *h.Hom.* 7 is contested: contrast the sceptical T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936), 376 with A. W. James, 'Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian Pirates', *Antichthon* 9 (1975) *passim*.

[5] The perspective of A. M. Keith, 'Sources and Genres in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1–5', in B. W. Boyd (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of Ovid* (Leiden, 2002), 264–6.

[6] The commentaries split into two camps, with W. S. Anderson, *Ovid's Metamorphoses Books 1–5* (Norman, OK, and London, 1996) and Barchiesi and Rosati (2007), 221 taking for granted that the *h.Hom.* 7 is Ovid's starting point for the Bacchic helmsman's tale, but the Germans, Bömer (1969), 588, and before him M. Haupt, R. Ehwald, and M. von Albrecht, *P. Ovidius Naso Metamorphosen*, Vol. 1 (Dublin and Zurich, 1966), 178, cling to the older view (O. Crusius, 'Der homerische Dionysoshymnus und die Legende von der Verwandlung der Tyrsener', *Philologus* 48 (1889)) that Ovid is in the first instance following a lost Hellenistic intermediary, most

I argue that Ovid builds upon more than one version of the story, but includes importantly the *Homeric Hymn*. I also offer some observations on Ovid's originality in developing the tale against this background of variant versions.

At the most basic level, the dramatic scenario in which Ovid's story of Dionysus and the helmsman is spoken as an embedded narrative seems to many scholars traceable to a play by Pacuvius based on Euripides' *Bacchae*.[7] Servius Danielis' scholion to *Aeneid* 4.469 mentions Pacuvius while summarizing the tale of Bacchus' follower Acoetes captured by Pentheus' men in lieu of Bacchus himself. It is not entirely clear, however, that the Servian comment actually attributes this plot to Pacuvius, and the scholion may instead derive from Ovid.[8] In any case, the scholiast does not mention the threatening Tyrrhenians and their transformation, nor does he identify Acoetes as a helmsman.

A version of Bacchus and the Tyrrhenian sailors preserved in Hyginus' *Fabulae* 134 more surely points to an intermediary—a lost Hellenistic work, say—between Ovid and *Homeric Hymn* 7:

> Tyrrheni, qui postea Tusci sunt dicti, cum piraticam facerent, Liber pater impubis in navem eorum conscendit et rogat eos ut se Naxum deferrent: qui cum eum sustulissent atque vellent ob formam constuprare, Acoetes gubernator eos inhibuit, qui iniuriam ab eis passus est. Liber ut vidit in proposito eos permanere, remos in thyrsos commutavit, vela in pampinos, rudentes in hederam; deinde leones atque pantherae prosiluerunt. qui ut viderunt, timentes in mare se praecipitaverunt; quos et in mari in aliud monstrum transfiguravit; nam quisquis se praecipitaverat, in delphini effigiem transfiguratus est; unde delphini Tyrrheni sunt appellati et mare Tyrrhenum est dictum. numero autem fuerunt duodecim his nominibus, Aethalides Medon Lycabas Libys Opheltes Melas Alcimedon Epopeus Dictys Simon Acoetes; hic gubernator fuit, quem ob clementiam Liber servavit.

probably a poetic source. Oppenheim (1909), 120–7, hypothesizes a post-Euripidean drama containing the story of the pirates.

[7] See, for example, the speculations of B. Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1970), 400–1.

[8] G. D'Anna, *M. Pacuvii fragmenta* (Rome, 1967), 137–8; P. Schierl, *Die Tragödien des Pacuvius* (Berlin, 2006), 419–21. The summary of Bacchus and the Tyrrhenians at Serv. *Aen.* 1.67 is clearly derived from Ovid (James (1975), 25), even if this seems unusual for the Servian scholia (A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (Oxford and New York, 2004), 188).

> The Tyrrhenians, who were afterwards called Tuscans, when they were engaged in piracy, Father Liber as a child boarded their ship and asked them to carry him to Naxos. When they had taken him on board and were wanting to rape him on account of his beauty, the helmsman Acoetes prevented them and as a result suffered harsh treatment at their hands. When Liber saw that they persisted in their intention, he transformed the oars into thyrsi, the sails into vines, and the ropes into ivy. Then lions and panthers leapt forth, at the sight of which the fearful Tyrrhenians threw themselves headlong into the sea, where the god transfigured them too into another unnatural condition. For whoever had thrown himself overboard was transfigured into the shape of a dolphin. Whence dolphins have been called Tyrrhenian and the sea named Tyrrhenian. They were moreover twelve in number, with the following names: Aethalides, Medon, Lycabas, Opheltes, Melas, Alcimedon, Epopeus, Dictys, Simon, Acoetes; the lattermost was the helmsman, whom Liber mercifully rescued.

In Ovid, too, the god appears to the sailors as a gorgeous boy (3.607 *virginea puerum . . . forma*; cf. Hyginus *impubis*; *ob formam*) rather than the mature youth of the *Hymn* (3–4 *νεηνίῃ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικὼς | πρωθήβῃ*), where, however, his stunning looks are singled out with reference to his streaming locks and his impressive clothing. Bacchus is headed to Naxos in both Ovid (3.636) and Hyginus. When he challenges the sailors' seizure of the boy-god, Ovid's Acoetes suffers a stranglehold from one mate (3.626–7) that is roundly approved by the rest (3.629), a sequence that more resembles the *iniuria* endured by Hyginus' Acoetes than it does the simpler reprimand by the ship's captain in the *Hymn* (25). Moreover, there is considerable overlap between the names of the sailors listed by Hyginus and those brought to life in the Ovidian helmsman's narrative.[9]

That Hyginus is not following Ovid, as he does elsewhere,[10] but rather shares a now-lost source with Ovid, is suggested by striking

[9] Cf. *Met.* 3.605 Opheltes, 617 Libys and Melanthus, 624 Lycabas, 634 Proreus, 647 Aethalion, 671 Medon.

[10] Most recently K. F. B. Fletcher, 'Hyginus' Fabulae: Toward a Roman Mythology', in S. M. Trzaskoma and R. S. Smith (eds), *Writing Myth: Mythography in the Ancient World* (Leuven, 2013), 149–56, who, however, sees Hyginus following Ovid here as well; also Cameron (2004) *passim* on Hyginus and Ovid. In view of the consensus nowadays that the author of the *Fabulae*, even with later accretions, was not C. Iulius Hyginus, the head of Augustus' Palatine Library and *familiarissimus Ovidio poetae* (Suet. *Gram.* 20), it is unlikely that Ovid derived the story from the work of this contemporary.

differences within their common outline.[11] Not all the sailors' names are the same, for instance. While apparent variations on a name could be attributable to Hyginus' imitation of Ovid (e.g. *Aethalion* vs *Aethalides*), the fact that one name in Hyginus' list (*Simon*) is absent from Ovid makes it more likely that they go back to the same source. Likewise, the offending Tyrrhenian sailors in Ovid are not labelled pirates (cf. Hyginus: *cum piraticam facerent*); Ovid has the divine boy seized on the shore (as in the *Hymn*) rather than present himself to the pirates; the Bacchic epiphany via various wonders on the ship's deck differs in details. Most striking of all, the intended rape of the beautiful *puer* (Hyginus: *vellent ob formam constuprare*) is absent in the account of the Ovidian Acoetes, who instead repeatedly notes the sailors' unspecific preoccupation with *praeda* in seizing the boy (3.606 and 620). It is much more likely that Ovid airbrushes away this detail from the source, or leaves it potentially implicit,[12] than that Hyginus adds the motive of rape to the story, seeking to make the implicit in Ovid explicit.

If, then, Ovid is looking to a version of the tale later than *Homeric Hymn* 7, he also has the *Hymn* itself in view. This is clearest from allusion to two crucial moments in the hymnic narrative. First, when the central character of the helmsman suddenly enters the action of the *Hymn*, it is to object to the harsh treatment of the captive on the basis that the latter is divine. Ovid's Acoetes reacts in similar fashion. In the *Hymn* the helmsman is responding to the miraculous falling away of the bonds, a marvel that makes no impression on the pirates. In Ovid the *gubernator* attributes to himself an even greater insight, reacting as he does simply to the boy's remarkable manner—his dress (cf. *h.Hom.* 7.5–6), face, and gait, as the child follows his captors woozily, seemingly reeling from sleep and wine in a romantically picturesque presentation. In both cases, however, we find exactly

[11] Crusius (1889), 221–2; James (1975), 24–5.

[12] On *praeda* and rape, see e.g. *Ars* 1.114 (Sabine Women) and *Met.* 2.873 (Europa). A *puer* as sexual plaything is called *praeda* at Petron. 80.1. Of erotic pursuit in various senses: *TLL* 10.2.525.65–78; R. Pichon, *Index verborum amatoriorum* (Hildesheim, 1991), 238. For the constellation of ideas around male youths, beauty, and rape, compare Tac. *Hist.* 4.14.1 *impubes et forma conspicui . . . ad stuprum trahebantur.* Ransom seems to be what the pirates have in mind in the *Hymn* (see Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), on v. 30). At Apollod. *Lib.* 3.5.3 they intend to sell the captive. D. Serv. on *Aen.* 1.67 appends as a comment to the summarized narrative closely agreeing with Ovid's account: *alii dicunt, quod stuprum Libero patri inferre temptaverint ac praeterea hoc pertulerint.*

the same sequence—perception (3.611 *sensi*; 15 *νοήσας*) followed by an address to his companions (3.611 *dixi sociis*; 16 *ἑτάροισιν ἐκέκλετο φώνησέν τε*) claiming that the victim is some god or another (3.611–12 *quod numen in isto | corpore sit dubito; sed corpore numen in isto est*; 17 *τίνα τόνδε θεὸν δεσμεύεσθ' ἑλόντες* . . .). The *Hymn*'s helmsman goes on to list some divine candidates and to assert that 'he is not like mortal men' (20–1 *οὐ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν | εἴκελος*), a statement that echoes in Acoetes' recollection 'I saw there nothing that could be believed to be mortal' (3.610 *nil ibi quod credi posset mortale videbam*).

At the conclusion to the hymnic narrative, when the other crewmen leapt into the sea and turned to dolphins, Dionysus pitied the sympathetic helmsman and 'held him back' (53–4), that is from also jumping headlong out of fright. The god told him 'do not be afraid . . . you who are dear to my heart' (55 *θάρσει* . . . *τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ*) and reveals his divine self, in the *Hymn*'s final epiphany,[13] by name and in terms of his power and exalted parentage (56–7). As he recollects what happened to him, the Ovidian helmsman similarly notes that he found himself alone (3.687–8 *de modo viginti (tot enim ratis illa ferebat) | restabam solus*; cf. 52 *πάντες ὁμῶς πήδησαν*). He openly registers the terror he felt (3.688–9 *pavidum gelidumque trementi | corpore vixque meum*), while likewise claiming at the close that the divinity briefly (and suddenly) spoke to him encouragingly (3.689–90 *excute . . . corde metum* is equivalent to *θάρσει* in verse 55 of the *Hymn*). Here in the context of what was to be a voyage to Bacchus' requested destination, the god adds the injunction to keep the course for Naxos (*Diamque tene*). Ovid here switches to the island's alternate name *Dia* (cf. 3.636, 640, 649), which, while not unusual,[14] in the present allusive context calls to mind a prominent wordplay by the *Hymn*'s Dionysus on his name in that closing speech to the helmsman (*δῖ' . . . Διόνυσος . . . Διός*; cf. *Diamque . . . Baccheaque* aligned at the centre of successive verses, 3.690–1).

Ovid's helmsman then concludes his story by noting that, upon arrival at Naxos, he entered into the ritual service of Bacchus that continues to this day (3.691 *accessi sacris Baccheaque sacra*

[13] On epiphany in *Homeric Hymn* 7, see D. Jaillard, 'The Seventh *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*. An Epiphanic Sketch', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011).

[14] *OLD* s.v. 'Dia[1]' and Fordyce on Catullus 64.52.

frequento). Thus does his rambling speech finally answer Pentheus' question why he attends to such strange rites (3.581 *morisque novi cur sacra frequentes*). At the same time, this dating and acknowledgement of his Bacchic identity may further reawaken memory of the last portion of *Homeric Hymn* 7. There, the god reveals himself to the helmsman with these words (56–7): *εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος, ὃν τέκε μήτηρ | Καδμηὶς Σεμέλη Διὸς ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα*, 'I am the loud-shouting Dionysus, whom my mother Semele, Cadmus' daughter, bore after joining in love with Zeus.' This ends the narrative portion of the hymn, then giving way to the singer's brief envoi, which opens thus (58): *χαῖρε, τέκος Σεμέλης εὐώπιδος* . . . , 'Hail, child of fair-eyed Semele . . . ' The hymnist's address to Dionysus conspicuously echoes the god's own words to the helmsman. In fact, we can hear the envoi, at least at first (before the mention of song in the final line; before noticing the lack of transitional phrasing), as the voice of the helmsman responding to Dionysus and initially recapitulating the deity's own words in that response. Enhancing this connection is that between Dionysus noting his favourable disposition towards the helmsman—he calls him *τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ* (55)—and the request for favour or *χάρις* that is embedded in the closing *χαῖρε*.[15] The apparent blurring of voices—the singer shouting his welcome to Bacchus in whose honour he sings and the helmsman whom he rescued acknowledging the presence of the god[16]—is ratified in the concluding moment of the Ovidian helmsman's story. There the helmsman seems to revisit this moment of his 'lived' experience in the *Hymn*, recasting it now in a historical perspective. After Bacchus spoke to him, he responded by dedicating himself to the god's worship. In other words, the helmsman became the glad greeter of Bacchus that he seems to be, even if fleetingly, at the likewise closural moment in *Homeric Hymn* 7.

Thus to seal Acoetes' cultic identity via allusion to the *Hymn* also loops back to Ovid's previous strong reference to that archaic text, the helmsman's intervention when he recognizes the divine status of the captive boy (3.609–14; cf. *h.Hom.* 7.15–24). In the Ovidian narrative,

[15] On *χαῖρε* and *χάρις*: W. R. Race, 'Aspects of Rhetoric and Form in Greek Hymns', *GRBS* 23 (1982), 8–10.

[16] See J. F. Garcia, 'Symbolic Action in the Homeric Hymns', *ClAnt* 21 (2002), with further bibliography, on the hymnic envoi with 'the exclamation *χαῖρε* as the singer's welcome of the arriving god'.

that moment of crisis itself modulates into hymnic mode and plays out in terms of prayer. After warning the sailors that the child is divine, Acoetes abruptly turns to the prisoner himself, acknowledging his divinity with prayers (613–14): *quisquis es, o faveas nostrisque laboribus adsis. | his quoque des veniam.* In proper religious language (*faveas; adsis;* the blanket phrase *quisquis es*),[17] the helmsman asks the unknown divinity for favour, and to pardon the mates who have just seized him. For the sequence of thought—recognition of godhead followed by direct prayerful appeal—one may compare Aeneas to his disguised mother Venus at *Aeneid* 1.330: *sis felix, nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem.* After asserting (to her in this case) that her face and voice are not mortal (1.327–8), Aeneas asks the unknown deity (*quaecumque*) for her favour and for help with the wandering Trojans' ordeal (once again *nostrumque . . . laborem*). In Ovid's scene, however, the address *nostrisque laboribus adsis* is ambiguous, usually taken to mean 'assist our undertakings' in reference to the ship's continued voyage[18]—this is what is in Aeneas' mind (cf. *Aen.* 1.332–3). But *nostris* is just as likely to be singular in meaning, even if retrospectively when in the very next phrase the helmsman points to his impious mates (*his*), thereby differentiating himself from them—one of whom, in turn, underscores that separation and the other sailors' collective disrespect for the boy by interrupting the helmsman with the command to cease praying for them, *pro nobis mitte precari* (614). The petition *nostris laboribus adsis* refracts the sailors' own announced appearance before the helmsman moments ago (605) as he calls them back from their mission to find fresh water: *adsumus en*, one of them cries out to him, with the particle pointing to the captive boy they have in tow no less than to themselves. Now Acoetes would have the boy-god be at hand with favour (*adsis*) upon his (or their) efforts. 'In the end,' as William Anderson notes with reference to this verse, 'Bacchus does favor the efforts of the captain alone, since he is pious, but he reveals his presence to the others as a

[17] See, respectively, pp. 124–5, 115–16, and 78–82 of G. Appel, *De Romanorum precationibus* (Gießen, 1909).

[18] Cf. English translations: 'bless our labours' (A. D. Melville, *Ovid:* Metamorphoses (Oxford, 1986)); 'give us happy voyage' (R. Humphries, *Ovid:* Metamorphoses (Bloomington, IN, 1960)); 'assist our labours' (M. M. Innes, *Ovid:* Metamorphoses (London, 1955)); 'prosper our undertakings' (F. J. Miller, *Ovid:* Metamorphoses, *Volume 1: Book 1–8* (Cambridge, MA, 1916)).

punisher.'[19] At the very end of the story, the helmsman enters the service of the previously unnamed god (613 *quisquis es*), going beyond even the analogous closing moment of acknowledging Bacchus' presence in the *Hymn*'s final χαῖρε.

We have seen, then, that Ovid appeals to at least two literary accounts of the traditional story of Bacchus and the Tyrrhenian sailors, one of which was its classic archaic version in *Homeric Hymn* 7. But he is no doubt looking to still other (lost) narrative accounts that are reflected in other surviving sources. When, for instance, we read that 'the men leapt out (of the ship), whether motivated by madness or fear' (3.670–1 *exsiluere viri, sive hoc insania fecit* | *sive timor*), Ovid seems to be acknowledging variant versions.[20] In both the *Hymn* and Hyginus the sailors clearly plunge overboard out of terror (*Fab.* 134 *timentes*; *h.Hom.* 7.50 ἐκπληγέντες; cf. 48 ἐφόβηθεν).[21] In other accounts, however, they are said to dive in after being driven mad (Apollod. *Lib.* 3.5.3 ἐμμανεῖς γενόμενοι; Nonn. *D.* 45.165 ἀμερσινόῳ δ' ὑπὸ λύσσῃ; Philostr. *Imag.* 1.19.1 μαίνονται and 5 ὁ γὰρ Διόνυσος αὐτοὺς ἐκμήνας).

Elsewhere there is a convergence of models, as in Acoetes' miraculous release from prison, to which he is dragged off after his long speech to Pentheus (3.699–700): *sponte sua patuisse fores lapsasque lacertis* | *sponte sua fama est nullo solvente catenas*, 'Tradition has it that the doors opened of their own accord and of their own accord the chains fell away from his arms with no one loosening them.' While such wondrous release from imprisonment is to be expected for the devotees of Dionysos Lysios ('The Deliverer'),[22] Ovid's resumption at just this point of the scenario from the *Bacchae* (there dragging off the

[19] Anderson (1996), 399 on 3.613.

[20] James (1975), 23. See P. Hardie, *Lucretian Receptions. History, The Sublime, Knowledge* (Cambridge, 2009), 246–9, on Ovid playing with Lucretian language of multiple explanations.

[21] We find the same sequence of motifs in all three accounts. In the *Hymn* the pirates are already thunderstruck by the sight of Dionysus becoming a lion in the company of a bear. When they see (52 ἐπεὶ ἴδον) the lion attack the captain, they respond by leaping into the sea 'in order to avoid an evil doom' (51 κακὸν μόρον ἐξαλύοντες). Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 134 *leones atque pantherae prosiluere. qui ut viderunt, timentes in mare praecipitaverunt.* In *Met.* 3.668–70 the sailors' leap follows immediately upon mention of tigers, (phantom) lynxes, and panthers surrounding the boy-god brandishing a spear.

[22] Apollod. *Lib.* 3.5.1, Paus. 9.16.6, Naev. 46–7 W.; E. R. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae* (Oxford, 1960) on Eur. *Bacch.* 443–8: 'a traditional Dionysiac miracle'.

disguised Dionysus to prison) will bring to mind especially the phrasing of the Bacchants' deliverance reported by the Servant in Euripides' play (447–8): αὐτόματα δ' αὐταῖς δεσμὰ διελύθη ποδῶν | κλῆδές τ' ἀνῆκαν θύρετρ' ἄνευ θνητῆς χερός, 'of their own accord were the chains loosed from their feet, and keys opened doors without a mortal hand.' But given the extensively developed parallel between the captured Bacchic helmsman and Bacchus among the pirates, we cannot fail to think also of Dionysus' astonishing release from fetters in the *Homeric Hymn*, a spectacle that motivated the helmsman's intervention (13–14): τὸν δ' οὐκ ἴσχανε δεσμά, λύγοι δ' ἀπὸ τηλόσ' ἔπιπτον | χειρῶν ἠδὲ ποδῶν, 'the bonds did not restrain him, and the osiers fell far away from his hands and feet.' The 'footnoting' phrase *fama est* (3.700) invites recall of the moment's literary tradition.

Ovid's most striking innovation is to cast the story of the Tyrrhenian sailors as a recollection by the helmsman, thereby characteristically aligning 'poetic memory' or literary allusion with a character's memories.[23] That the helmsman has become an acolyte of Bacchus is likewise not found elsewhere. Ovid exploits the helmsman's 'conversion' to open up the potential for metanarrative complication. Not only is this yet another story within a story such as we find with increasing complexity throughout the *Metamorphoses*, but the episode offers us yet another case of narrative doubling: Pentheus' threat to the Bacchic helmsman mirrors the story that the latter retells of the Tyrrhenians who threatened Bacchus himself.[24] Both myths likewise highlight themes of epiphany and recognition,[25] or the failure to recognize Bacchus as divine. To put the tale into the mouth of the helmsman is a key manoeuvre for here creating a distinctly Ovidian aesthetic. As often, Ovid extends the mythological continuum, now with a sequel,

[23] G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca, NY, 1986), 57–63; J. F. Miller, 'Ovidian Allusion and the Vocabulary of Memory', *MD* 30 (1993); S. E. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998), Index s.v. 'allusion and memory'. On Ovid's originality, see Otis (1970), 401: 'the most likely hypothesis is that Ovid himself first added the metamorphosis narrative to the essentially dramatic *Pentheus* and himself attributed the narrative to Acoetes.'

[24] Cf. A. Barchiesi, 'Poeti epici e narratori', in G. Papponetti (ed.), *Metamorfosi. Atti del convegno internationale di studi (Sulmona, 20–22 novembre, 1994)* (Sulmona, 1997a), 123–4: 'Il racconto è … una perfetta *mise en abyme* della storia che lo [i.e. Pentheus] ospita.'

[25] P. Chaudhuri, *The War with God. Theomachy in Roman Imperial Poetry* (Oxford, 2014), 92–3.

sometimes alternatively with a prequel.[26] In the process a relatively marginal character in the tradition is given centre stage, being allowed to update the story of his own life, to fill in a gap. Whatever happened, Ovid asks the literary tradition, to that helmsman rescued by Dionysus after the rest of the crew were mutated into dolphins? Likewise, at *Metamorphoses* 14.158–222, Achaemenides, a figure previously known only in *Aeneid* 3 as a forgotten member of Ulysses' band rescued by the Aeneadae from his traumatic ordeal on Polyphemus' island, reemerges to retell his story, now in the safety of Aeneas' company, to Macareus, another of Ulysses' companions, when the two meet during Aeneas' stop at Caieta.[27] The helmsman Acoetes, too, breezily expatiates on his ship's Bacchic crisis, and on his own history up to that point. During his winding narration the tense atmosphere of his confrontation with the angry Pentheus seems to drop away, until Pentheus seems to lose his temper over the long-winded story (3.692 *longis . . . ambagibus* is how Pentheus characterizes the speech). We may wonder why the devotee of Bacchus does not explicitly offer the punished Tyrrhenians as a lesson for Pentheus on what can happen to those who insult his god. By contrast, hubristic exemplum is Tiresias' central aim when he tells the same tale to Pentheus at Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 45.103–69, in the other surviving first-person telling of Dionysus and the pirates.[28] That Acoetes does not sound this note, or even seem to imply such a lesson,[29] makes it unlikely that he himself is to be understood as Bacchus in disguise, like the Stranger in the comparable scene of the *Bacchae*.[30] While Ovid's helmsman does accent the impiety of his

[26] Hinds (1998), 107–19, on 'remakes, sequels, doubles'.

[27] See K. S. Myers, *Ovid Metamorphoses Book XIV* (Cambridge, 2009) on 14.158–440.

[28] Note Tiresias' conclusion (45.169), 'you, too, my son, watch out for the treacherous wrath of Lyaios' (*καὶ σύ, τέκος, δολόεντα χόλον πεφύλαξο Λυαίου*).

[29] Though the helmsman's speech is frequently interpreted as such: Anderson (1996), 396, 'a second major warner'; Barchiesi and Rosati (2007), 223, 'ammonimento'; Chaudhuri (2014), 93, 'an admonitory tale' with 'didactic quality'. Ezra Pound, reimagining the Ovidian scenario (*Canto* 2), has Acoetes explicitly warn Pentheus after telling of the sailors' transformation: 'Arms shrunk into fins. And you, Pentheus, / Had as well listen to Tiresias, and to Cadmus, / or your luck will go out of you.' See A. Henrichs, '"He Has a God in Him": Human and Divine in the Modern Perception of Dionysus', in T. H. Carpenter and C. A. Faraone (eds), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca and London, 1993), 16.

[30] See n. 3 above. It has been suggested to me that Sinon from *Aeneid* 2 lurks in the background of Acoetes' speech, which could make us wonder about the truth of the latter's identity.

fellow sailors (3.629 *impia turba*; 656 *manus impia*), he is more a lively raconteur of the frightful adventure that he survived than a Bacchic enthusiast drawing a moral for the impious Pentheus.

Introducing Bacchus' Roman festival, the Liberalia, in *Fasti* 3, Ovid concludes a praeteritio of Bacchic stories with reference to our tale: 'lo, I would like to tell of the Tyrrhenian monsters, men suddenly turned into fish, but that is not the task of this song' (3.723–4 *ecce libet subitos pisces Tyrrhenaque monstra | dicere; sed non est carminis huius opus*). That the list of stories is quasi-hymnic[31] will in this case bring to mind the classic version of Dionysus and the pirates in *Homeric Hymn* 7. Closer to home, the concluding phrase points us to the poem Ovid was writing concurrently with the *Fasti*, namely the *Metamorphoses*, a *carmen* whose work more naturally embraces a story of such metamorphic potential. As we might expect, Ovid's helmsman exploits that potential fully. Where the *Hymn* simply says 'they became dolphins' (53 δελφῖνες δ' ἐγένοντο)—and the other versions not much more than that[32]—Ovid carefully renders a series of individual transformations (671–82), but conspicuously without specifying the fish in question. He points back to two sailors named earlier (Lycabas and Libys), and there are others. As often, focus is on the process of metamorphosis and how the crewmen experience it. Greek artists had depicted the metamorphosing pirates as hybrid forms, part man, part dolphin—the Lysicrates monument in Athens is the most famous example.[33] Ovid presents the repeated phenomenon in 'cinematic' manner. One sailor sees his mate change colour and curvature, and accosts him: 'What strange creature are you turning into?' (673–4 '*in quae miracula' dixit | 'verteris?*'). But as he utters these words, his own face is transmuted (674–5). Another watches himself transmogrified while rowing the boat, beholding his hands shrink to fins (676–8). In a clever *variatio* Ovid zooms in

[31] J. F. Miller, 'Ovid's Liberalia', in G. Herbert-Brown (ed.), *Ovid's Fasti. Historical Readings at its Bimillennium* (Oxford, 2002), 208.

[32] Hyg. *Fab.* 134 *in delphini effigiem transfiguratus est*; *Astron.* 2.17 *delphini sunt facti*; [Apollod.] 3.5.3 καὶ ἐγένοντο δελφῖνες; Nonn, *D.* 45.167–8 ποντοπόροι δελφῖνες· ἀμειβομένου δὲ προσώπου | εἰς φύσιν ἰχθυόεσσαν ἐμορφώθη γένος ἀνδρῶν; Opp. *H.* 1.651–2 πόντον ὑπημείψαντο καὶ ἰχθύας ἀμφεβάλοντο | γυίοις; the detail at Sen. *Oed.* 459–66 seems inspired by Ovid.

[33] M. Von Wagner, 'Dionysos und die Seeräuber', in H. Fronig, T. Hölscher, and H. Mielsch (eds), *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon* (Mainz, 1992); M. de' Spagnolis, *Il mito omerico di Dionysos ed i pirati tirreni in un documento da Nuceria Alfaterna* (Rome, 2004), Figs 35, 36, 48, 67.

now on this, now on that, physical aspect of the new aquatic state—dark colour, curved spine, reshaped mouth and nose, hardened skin, fins, crescent-shaped tail.[34] The series of metamorphoses is framed with metaliterary markers: the body of the first sailor (671 *primus*) 'begins' (673 *incipit*) to change, while the last anatomical item noted is 'the end of the tail' (681 *novissima cauda*).

In all of this, Ovid sidesteps the idea that the delphine transformation constitutes punishment, as it does more clearly in other versions of the story.[35] In an epigram from the Greek Anthology (9.524.20), for instance, Dionysus is called 'destroyer of the Tyrrhenians' (*Τυρρηνολέτην*), an epithet tellingly juxtaposed with *ταχύμηνιν*, 'quick to anger'. On the Lysicrates monument, the grotesque mutating men-fish are enduring the next phase in a punitive continuum that includes whipping, chasing, dragging, burning, and binding by Dionysus' satyrs.[36] To be sure, Ovid's Bacchus does mean to threaten the sailors with the miraculous phenomena like wild animals no less than by brandishing a thyrsus himself (667 *pampineis agitat velatam frondibus hastam*). And we do witness each metamorphosing sailor's frustration as he attempts this or that activity—as one speaks, his face mutates, and so forth. But any sense of retribution evaporates in the metamorphic display. Those transformed here do not suffer so much as experience a paradoxical condition—the one wishing to use his hands for rowing sees he has no hands, the one desiring to grab rope with his arms does not have arms. The narrator emphasizes the wonder of it all, not unlike the marvels displayed on the ship's deck at the god's epiphany—tigers and panthers, ivy and grapes—all that of course orchestrated by Bacchus. If we lose sight of Bacchus himself as Ovid's Bacchic helmsman gets engrossed in the details of metamorphosis, a brief simile at the end may remind us, albeit fleetingly,

[34] W. Quirin, *Die Kunst Ovids in der Darstellung des Verwandlungsaktes* (Diss., Giessen, 1930), 54: 'Bei jedem einzelnen Schiffer wird jedesmal ein anderer Körperteil verwandelt.' Philostratus *Imag.* 1.19.5 does the same thing in describing a painting of the scene: one has dark sides, one a slippery breast, one a fin growing on his back, one sprouting a tail, one with no head but another with head still intact.

[35] See J. B. Solodow, *The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988), 168–74, on the general tendency in the poem towards 'metamorphosis without morality'.

[36] Cf. the god's agency in Hyg. *Fab.* 134 *in aliud monstrum transfiguravit*; D. Serv. *Aen.* 1.67 explicitly notes the transformation because of their attempt to harm Bacchus (*propterea*); at Oppian *H.* 1.650 the delphine metamorphoses are willed by Dionysus (*Διονύσοιο ... βουλῇ*).

of the god. For the concluding spectacle is of the dolphins playfully surfacing and rising again, and frolicking about in the water like dancers (685 *inque chori ludunt speciem*). The men who menaced Bacchus now ironically sport about riotously as if in an aquatic version of his worshipful entourage, a hymnic chorus of sorts,[37] and now themselves embodying the celebratory spirit of a poem like the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*.[38]

[37] On dolphins' association with choral dancing, see E. Csapo, 'The Dolphins of Dionysos', in E. Csapo and M. Miller (eds), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis: The Social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece. Essays in Honour of William J. Slater* (Oxford, 2003). Ovid may here be alluding to yet another version of the story, attributed to the *Naxica* of Aglaosthenes (*FGrH* 499 F3; ap. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.17): Dionysus has his entourage enchant the Tyrrhenians with strange music at which *the pirates dance* and are driven to dive into the sea, where they become dolphins (*quo sonitu inaudito Tyrrheni cum usque adeo delectarentur, ut etiam in saltationibus essent occupati cupiditate, se in mare inscii proiecerunt et ibi delphini sunt facti*). Nonn. *D.* 45.166 has them dance, now as dolphins, upon leaping into the sea (εἰς βυθὸν ἀίσσοντες ἐπωρχήσαντο γαλήνῃ). P. M. C. Forbes-Irving, *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths* (Oxford, 1990), 316–17. Also in the background here is a cluster of motifs from the legend of the singer Arion (Herodotus 1.23–4), reputed inventor of the dithyramb, who, captured by pirates, leapt into the sea and was rescued by a dolphin.

[38] I am grateful for stimulating discussion of an earlier draft of this chapter by the participants at the Heidelberg workshop; to Fiachra Mac Góráin for comments and bibliographical help; and to generous audiences at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Università di Roma La Sapienza, and to my hosts on those two occasions, respectively James O'Hara and Alessandro Schiesaro.

6

The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in Ovid and Augustan Literature

Alison Keith

Ovid's interest in the hymnic genre is apparent throughout his oeuvre and especially in his hexameter poem *Metamorphoses*, which opens with a prepositional phrase, *in noua . . . corpora* ('into new bodies', 1.1–2), of a shape that characteristically opens didactic epic and, occasionally, individual *Homeric Hymns*.[1] The novelty of the poem's subject-matter is complemented by the poet's new excursion into hexameter verse, a metrical innovation underscored in the parenthetical comment he addresses to the gods whom he invokes to preside over his new work: *di, coeptis* (*nam uos mutastis et illa*) | *adspirate meis* ('gods, inspire my undertakings—for you have transformed even those', 1.2–3).[2] The divine invocation is another epic

[1] K. S. Myers, *Ovid's Causes: Cosmogony and Aetiology in the Metamorphoses* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1994), 6, n. 14; cf. e.g. *Homeric Hymns* 7.1–2 (*ἀμφὶ Διώνυσον . . . | μνήσομαι*), 19.1 (*ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείαο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα*), 22.1 (*ἀμφὶ Ποσειδάωνα, μέγαν θεόν, ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν*), 33.1 (*ἀμφὶ Διὸς κούρους, ἑλικώπιδες ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι*). For Ovid's interest in the hymnic genre, see further A. Barchiesi, 'Venus' Masterplot: Ovid and the Homeric Hymns', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds), *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's* Metamorphoses *and its Reception* (Cambridge, 1999); A. M. Keith, 'Sources and Genres in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1–5', in B. W. Boyd (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of Ovid* (Leiden, 2002), 237 and 249–50; and Y. Syed, 'Ovid's Use of the Hymnic Genre in the Metamorphoses', in A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, and S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome* (Stuttgart, 2004).

[2] On this reading, the parenthesis pointedly credits the gods with transforming not only the changed forms which constitute the poem's subject-matter but also Ovid's verse-form itself, since they have metamorphosed his poetry from elegiac couplets into dactylic hexameters. The medieval variant *illa*, first adopted by Lejay in his 1894

convention that often merges with the hymnic form,[3] though that does not happen here: indeed, this invocation has been characterized as 'the shortest in world literature (two letters, *di*)'.[4] Nonetheless, a specific interest in the hymnic genre comes to the fore in the earliest amatory tale of the *Metamorphoses*, the Apollo and Daphne narrative. There Daphne's rejection of love, forcefully expressed in her request to her father that she be permitted to remain a virgin like Diana ('*da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime', dixit | 'uirginitate frui! dedit hoc pater ante Dianae*', 'allow me to enjoy everlasting maidenhood, father! Diana's father granted this to her before', 1.486–7), not only assimilates her to the figure of an elegiac *puella* spurning her lover, but also closely translates Artemis' demand for perpetual virginity in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* ('δός μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάσσειν', 'allow me, daddy, to safeguard my maidenhood in perpetuity', Call. *Hymn* 3.6).[5]

The ancient hymnic tradition, most famously represented in the collection of *Hymns* that circulated under the name of Homer,[6]

school edition of the *Metamorphoses* and defended in the following century by J. J. Hartman, *De Ovidio Poeta Commentatio* (Leiden, 1905), 83–4; G. Luck, 'Zum Prooemium von Ovids Metamorphosen', *Hermes* 86 (1958); and E. J. Kenney, '*Ovidius Prooemians*', *PCPhS* 22 (1976), 46–50, among others, is currently accepted as the correct lemma: see e.g. W. S. Anderson, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoses*, 6th edn (Stuttgart, 1993); W. S. Anderson, *Ovid's Metamorphoses Books 1–5* (Norman, OK, and London, 1996); R. J. Tarrant, 'Editing Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Problems and Possibilities', *CPh* 77 (1982), 351; and R. J. Tarrant, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses* (Oxford, 2004) *ad loc.*

[3] This is an especially common feature of didactic epos: cf. e.g. Hes. *Th.* 1–115, *Erga* 1–10; Lucr. *DRN* 1.1–49; Virg. *G.* 1.1–42.

[4] Barchiesi (1999), 113.

[5] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1924), 2.52 n. 4.

[6] Although Homer's authorship of the collection was not accepted by all our ancient sources, individual hymns were attributed to his authorship already in classical Greece (Thuc. 3.104, quoting *Apollo* 146–50, 165–72), and a collection of hymns seems to have been held under his name in the Library of Hellenistic Alexandria: see A. Faulkner, 'The Collection of *Homeric Hymns*: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011c) and S. D. Olson, 'Immortal Encounters: *Aeneid* 1 and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*', *Vergilius* 56 (2011), 60 n. 10. In Italy, our earliest references to 'Homer in the *Hymns*' are found in two Greek authors working in mid-first-century BC Rome: Philodemus (*Piet.* 2 col. 199.5142–47; col. 221.5809–10 Obbink) and Diodorus Siculus (1.15.7; 3.65.3; 4.2.4). Olson (2011), 60–1 n. 11, follows F. Càssola, 'Inni omerici', in M. Geymonat and F. Della Corte (eds), *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, Vol. 2 (Rome, 1984) in suggesting that Philodemus himself brought the collection to Rome.

provides another important literary context for the Ovidian episode.[7] Alessandro Barchiesi has observed that Ovid here reverses the narrative sequence of the Delphic section of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (207–15) by transforming the Homeric prelude (Apollo's amours) into his main theme, and the Homeric theme (the killing of Python and foundation of the Delphic oracle) into his prelude.[8] Jeffrey Wills, moreover, has argued that 'the content of Ovid's story properly constitutes a hymn to Apollo, with a listing of his attributes from his own mouth: lord of prophecy, the lyre, the arrow, medicine and even Capitoline processions' (1.515–22, 558–65).[9] Apollo himself praises Daphne, transformed into the laurel, in hymnic '*Du-Stil*' at the end of the episode, lauding her association with his hair, cithara, and bow, as well as the Roman triumph and Augustus' palace ('*semper habebunt | te coma, te citharae, te nostrae, laure, pharetrae; | tu ducibus Latiis aderis . . . tu quoque perpetuos semper gere frondis honores!*', 'you my locks will always have, you my cithara, you my bow, laurel tree; you will attend Latian generals . . . also you will always bear the honor of everlasting foliage', 1.558–65). The episode ends with an image of the laurel tree shaking her foliage (*factis modo laurea ramis | adnuit utque caput uisa est agitasse cacumen*, 'with her newly formed branches the laurel nodded and seemed to have shaken the top of her tree like her head', 1.566–7), which evokes the *incipit* of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (οἷον ὁ τὠπόλλωνος ἐσείσατο δάφνινος ὄρπηξ, 'How the laurel branch of Apollo has shaken', *Hymn* 2.1).[10] The generic tension generated by the juxtaposition of epic, elegiac, and hymnic conventions is congruent with the proem's announcement of a poem that aspires to both epic grandeur and Callimachean refinement.[11]

[7] Barchiesi (1999); cf. F. Williams, 'Augustus and Daphne: Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1,560–63 and Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F 32 (b)', *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3 (1981); J. Wills, 'Callimachean Models for Ovid's "Apollo-Daphne"', *MD* 24 (1990); and Syed (2004).

[8] Barchiesi (1999), 116.

[9] Wills (1990), 151–4, quote at 154; cf. Williams (1981), 251; Syed (2004), 102. Wills (1990) identifies Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* as the specific source of the Ovidian narrative and implies in (1990), 155, that Apollo's epithet *Delius* (*Met.* 1.454) may have an arch annotative function, referring the reader to Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (*Hymn* 2), like *primus amor* (*Met.* 1.452), which refers the reader to Ovid's own first *amor*, *Amores* 1.1.

[10] Wills (1990), 151; Barchiesi (1999), 124.

[11] On the integral importance of the hymnic genre to Ovid's literary programme in the *Metamorphoses*, and its announcement in the Apollo and Daphne episode, see

Later in the poem, moreover, after relating Bacchus' transformation of the Tyrrhenian sailors into dolphins (the subject of a fully extant *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*),[12] Ovid even manages to incorporate an example of a cletic hymn to Bacchus into his Theban narrative. There he contrasts the impious rejection of Bacchus by the daughters of Minyas with the piety of the Theban women, who invoke the god in lengthy recitation of his titles (*Met.* 4.11–30):

> turaque dant Bacchumque vocant Bromiumque Lyaeumque
> ignigenamque satumque iterum solumque bimatrem;
> additur his Nyseus indetonsusque Thyoneus
> et cum Lenaeo genialis consitor uvae
> Nycteliusque Eleleusque parens et Iacchus et Euhan,
> et quae praeterea per Graias plurima gentes
> nomina, Liber, habes; tibi enim inconsumpta iuuenta est,
> tu puer aeternus, tu formosissimus alto
> conspiceris caelo; tibi, cum sine cornibus adstas,
> uirgineum caput est; Oriens tibi uictus adusque
> decolor extremo qua cingitur India Gange.
> Penthea tu, uenerande, bipenniferumque Lycurgum
> sacrilegos mactas Tyrrhenaque mittis in aequor
> corpora; tu biiugum pictis insignia frenis
> colla premis lyncum; Bacchae Satyrique sequuntur,
> quique senex ferula titubantes ebrius artus
> sustinet et pando non fortiter haeret asello.
> quacumque ingrederis, clamor iuuenalis et una
> femineae uoces impulsaque tympana palmis
> concauaque aera sonant longoque foramine buxus.

They bring incense and invoke Bacchus as Bromius and Lyaeus, fire-born, twice-born, who alone has two mothers; to these titles are added Nyseus and unshorn Thyoneus, along with Lenaeus, sower of the festive grape, Nyctelius, father Eleleus, Iacchus, and Euhan, and the very many names besides which you have, Liber, among the Greek peoples; for your youth is everlasting, you are an eternal boy, you are visible, most beautiful, in high heaven; you have a maidenly head, when you stand present without horns; you have conquered the East, all the way to where dusky India is girt by the distant Ganges. You slaughtered

Syed (2004). She emphasizes especially the importance of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

[12] See Chapter 5, exploring Ovid's extensive allusions to the seventh *Homeric Hymn* in *Met.* 3.582–691.

> sacreligious Pentheus and axe-bearing Lycurgus, venerable one, and sent Tyrrhenian bodies into the sea; you press the dappled necks of lynxes with brightly decorated reins; Maenads and satyrs follow you, and the drunk old man who supports his tottering limbs with a fennel-rod and scarcely clings to his donkey's expansive back. Wherever you go there rise youthful cries together with women's voices, palms striking drums, the bronze cymbals sound and the boxwood flute with its long row of holes.

The prayer of the Theban women to the new god is composed in the style of a cult hymn, rather than a *Homeric Hymn*;[13] like a free-standing cult hymn, this prayer includes such conventional features of the hymnic form as an invocation of the god with a catalogue of cult-titles (11–17) and an 'aretalogy' (12–28), praise of the god which normally contains the birth legend (12) and a list of places the god has conquered (20–1), in conjunction with repeated apostrophe of the god, *Du-Stil* (17–24).[14] The formula summing up the many names and titles of the god is a conventional feature of hymns, but at *Metamorphoses* 4.17 the poet-narrator abbreviates his summary to turn it into a direct hymn of the god, who thereby makes an epiphany in Ovid's text (as he will also appear to the daughters of Minyas at the end of this episode, 4.391–415).[15]

Ovid's use of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in *Metamorphoses* 5 and *Fasti* 4 has also been well studied, notably by Stephen Hinds, who draws attention to Ovid's opening of an unnamed Muse's account of

[13] Cf. Syed (2004), 107. On the generic conventions of the *Homeric Hymns*, see J. S. Clay, 'The *Homeric Hymns* as Genre', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 241, who identifies not only 'purely formal similarities (metre, diction, opening and closing formulae, etc.)' but also, more importantly, 'the highly developed central mythological narrative' and 'shared conceptual framework' of the hymns that presents 'the character and prerogatives of the divinity to be praised, both in relation to other gods and to human beings' at 'defining moments in the history of the gods and their relations with mankind'.

[14] Ovid also seems to have the hymns to Bacchus of Propertius (3.17) and Horace (*C.* 2.19) very much in mind here; on the latter, see also Chapter 4, *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*.

[15] Ovid here assimilates the Theban women worshipping the new god Bacchus to tragic choruses of Bacchantes hymning the god of drama (*αἰεὶ | Διόνυσον ὑμνήσω*, Eur. *Ba.* 71). D. Curley notes (*per litteras*) that 'Ovid's catalogue of Dionysiac epithets here recalls the *parados* of Euripides' *Bacchae*, which is itself an annotated history of the god.' On tragic intertexts in Ovid's account of the daughters of Minyas, see Keith (2002) and A. M. Keith, 'Tragic Themes and Allusions in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4', in I. Gildenhard and M. Revermann (eds), *Beyond the Fifth Century: Interactions with Greek Tragedy from the Fourth Century BCE to the Middle Ages* (Berlin, 2010), 187–217.

the rape of Proserpina in *Metamorphoses* 4 with a brief hymn to Ceres (5.341–5) that 'reflexively annotates' the allusion.[16] Building on Hinds' study, Alessandro Barchiesi[17] observed that Ovid's treatment of the rape of Proserpina also alludes to another of the *Homeric Hymns*, that to Aphrodite (*Met.* 5.363–79):

> . . . uidet hunc Erycina uagantem
> monte suo residens natumque amplexa uolucrem
> 'arma manusque meae, mea, nate, potentia' dixit,
> 'illa, quibus superas omnes, cape tela, Cupido,
> inque dei pectus celeres molire sagittas,
> cui triplicis cessit fortuna nouissima regni.
> tu superos ipsumque Iouem, tu numina ponti
> uicta domas ipsumque regit qui numina ponti.
> Tartara quid cessant? cur non matrisque tuumque
> imperium profers? agitur pars tertia mundi.
> et tamen in caelo (quae iam patientia nostra est!)
> spernimur ac mecum uires minuuntur Amoris.
> Pallada nonne uides iaculatricemque Dianam
> abscessisse mihi? Cereris quoque filia uirgo,
> si patiemur, erit; nam spes adfectat easdem.
> at tu pro socio, si qua est ea gratia, regno
> iunge deam patruo.' dixit Venus; ille . . .

From Mt. Eryx Venus saw Dis wandering on her mountain, and embracing her winged son she said, 'My arms, my hands, my power—my son, take those weapons by which you overwhelm all beings, Cupid, and direct your swift arrows against the breast of the god to whose lot fell the last of the three realms. You master the gods above and Jove himself, you master the conquered gods of the sea and their ruler. Why should Tartarus be left out? Why don't you extend your mother's rule, and yours? A third of the cosmos is at stake! Yet even in heaven we are despised (which is a mark of our long-suffering!), and Love's power is diminished along with my own. Surely you see that Pallas and bow-wielding Diana have abandoned me? Ceres' maiden daughter will too if we let her; for she nurses the same hopes. But you,

[16] On Ovid's use of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in *Met.* 5 and *Fasti* 4, see S. E. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone. Ovid and the Self-Conscious Muse* (Cambridge, 1987a), 51–98, with further bibliography. On the hymnic proœmium to his account of the rape of Proserpina in *Met.* 5, see *Met.* 5.97–8; for the term 'reflexive annotation', see S. E. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998), 1–16.

[17] Barchiesi (1999), 115.

> for our shared kingdom—if that influence is worth anything to you—
> join the goddess to her paternal uncle', said Venus. He . . .

The Ovidian Venus' ambition to extend her dominion into the underworld is couched in the language of the Virgilian Venus asking her son Cupid for help against Dido and the threat of Carthaginian double-dealing (*Aen.* 1.633–6): *ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem*: | '*nate, meae uires, mea magna potentia, solus*, | *nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoea temnis*, | *ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco*' ('and so she addressed winged Love with these words: "My son, my strength, my great power, son—you who alone despise the weapons that slew Typhoeus, belonging to the supreme father—I flee to you and ask your divine aid as a suppliant"').[18]

Through this echo of the specifically Virgilian Venus, whose first appearance to her son Aeneas in the *Aeneid* adapts her epiphany to his father Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (*Aen.* 1.314–20 ~ *h.Aphr.* 92–112; cf. *Aen.* 1.402–4 ~ *h.Aphr.* 172–5),[19] Ovid activates a series of pointed allusions to the Virgilian model, the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. In both the Ovidian Venus' speech (*Met.* 5.369–70) and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, for example, the goddess' mastery over the gods is emphasized, despite the resistance of three goddesses (1–9, 16–22, 33–5):

> *Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης,*
> *Κύπριδος, ἥ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὧρσε*
> *καί τ' ἐδαμάσσατο φῦλα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*
> *οἰωνούς τε διιπετέας καὶ θηρία πάντα,*
> *ἠμὲν ὅσ' ἤπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἠδ' ὅσα πόντος·* 5
> *πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐυστεφάνου Κυθερείης.*
> *Τρισσὰς δ' οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατῆσαι·*
> *κούρην τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διός, γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην·*
> *οὐ γάρ οἱ εὖαδεν ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης*
> . . .
> *οὐδέ ποτ' Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον, κελαδεινὴν*

[18] P. Johnson, 'Constructions of Venus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* V', *Arethusa* 29 (1996), 133–5; Barchiesi (1999), 115.

[19] On the complex of Virgilian allusions to the *Hymn*, see A. Barchiesi, 'Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'Eneide', *A&A* 40 (1994); K. Reckford, 'Recognizing Venus (I): Aeneas Meets his Mother', *Arion* 3.2/3 (1995–6); P. Hardie, 'Virgil's Ptolemaic Relations', *JRS* 96 (2006); Olson (2011); C. W. Gladhill, 'Sons, Mothers, and Sex: *Aeneid* 1.314–20 and the *Hymn to Aphrodite* Reconsidered', *Vergilius* 58 (2012).

δάμναται ἐν φιλότητι φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη.
καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἅδε τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θῆρας ἐναίρειν,
φόρμιγγές τε χοροί τε διαπρύσιοί τ' ὀλολυγαὶ
ἄλσεά τε σκιόεντα δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν.
οὐδὲ μὲν αἰδοίῃ κούρῃ ἅδε ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης,
Ἴστίη . . .
Τάων οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατῆσαι·
τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὔ πέρ τι πεφυγμένον ἔστ' Ἀφροδίτην
οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Tell me, Muse, of the works of golden Aphrodite, the Cyprian, who rouses up sweet desire against the gods and subdues the tribes of mortal men and the birds that fly through the sky and all beasts, as many as the land rears and as many as the sea; all are concerned with the works of well-crowned Cytherea. But there are three whose minds she cannot persuade or deceive: (first,) the daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, grey-eyed Athena. For the works of golden Aphrodite do not delight her . . . Nor does laughter-loving Aphrodite ever subdue in love Artemis of the golden arrows, noisy in the hunt. For in fact she delights in arrows and slaying wild beasts on the mountains, lyres and dances, piercing cries and shady groves, and the cities of just men. Nor do the works of Aphrodite delight the chaste maiden, Hestia . . . Their minds she can neither persuade nor deceive; but of the rest there is nothing at all that has ever escaped Aphrodite, neither of the blessed gods nor of mortal men.

The Ovidian Venus' reference to the 'third realm' (*triplicis regni*, *Met.* 5.368), and her reminder that a third of the cosmos is at stake (*pars tertia mundi*, *Met.* 5.372), seem to be motivated by the opening movement of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, which specifies that only three goddesses escape her power (Τρισσὰς . . . φρένας, *h.Aphr.* 7). Ovid follows the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in his identification of Pallas/Athena and Diana/Artemis as deserters from Venus' camp (*Met.* 5.375 ~ *h.Aphr.* 8–20), although he condenses to a single four-word hexameter the hymn's eight- and five-line elaborations of their favoured pursuits, which constitute short hymns in their own right.[20] However, he substitutes Ceres' daughter Proserpina for the *Homeric Hymn*'s Hestia in the concluding place in his triad (*Met.* 5.376–7 ~ *h. Aphr.* 21–34), and thereby acknowledges the two goddesses' presence among the playmates of Persephone on the occasion of her rape by

[20] See A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008) *ad loc.*; S. D. Olson, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and Related Texts* (Berlin, 2012) *ad loc.*

Hades in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (417, 424–5): *ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἱμερτὸν λειμῶνα . . . Παλλάς τ' ἐγρεμάχη καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα | παίζομεν ἠδ' ἄνθεα δρέπομεν χείρεσσ' ἐρόεντα* ('we were all playing in a lovely meadow . . . [including] battle-mongering Pallas and arrow-wielding Artemis, and we were gathering lovely flowers in our hands'). The Ovidian Venus retains the single-line format of the reference to the two goddesses in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (*Met.* 5.375 ~ *h.Dem.* 424), but she rearticulates the context of the reference to the two goddesses with an eye to her own *Homeric Hymn*. In this way she subordinates Ceres' power to her own, even as she author-(ize)s the brief irruption of her own *Homeric Hymn* into Ovid's lengthy adaptation of that to Demeter. By putting the Greek hymn's words into the goddess' mouth, Ovid wittily annotates their source in her own *Homeric Hymn*. I would suggest, moreover, that Venus' combinatorial allusion to both her own *Homeric Hymn* and that of Ceres constitutes the best evidence we possess for the circulation in first-century BC Italy of a collection of *Homeric Hymns* like that extant today. For here we see Ovid not only drawing on individual hymns—as we saw him rework the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in conjunction with Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* in *Metamorphoses* 1, or as John Miller shows that he reworks the seventh *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, possibly in conjunction with Pacuvius' tragedy *Pentheus* in *Metamorphoses* 3—but also appropriating two of them at the same time, for the same narrative, in dialogue with one another.[21]

Ovid's interest in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* can be glimpsed elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses* as well. In Book 4, for example, Ovid gives us a preview of the imperial Venus of Book 5 in the account offered by one of the daughters of Minyas concerning the 'amours of the Sun' (*Solis amores*, 4.170). The Sun's love for Leucothoe, the Minyad relates, was the result of Venus' determination to exact revenge on the Sun for bringing to light her illicit relations with Mars (*Met.* 4.190–2): *Exigit indicii memorem Cythereia poenam | inque uices illum, tectos qui laesit amores, | laedit amore pari* ('Cythereian Venus exacted mindful punishment from the informer, and in turn harmed him who harmed her clandestine love-affair, with an equal love'). The twin motives of recollection and resentment that animate Venus here repeatedly characterize the love goddess

[21] Cf. Syed (2004).

elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses*: we may note not only her abiding hatred of the Sun in her infliction of an unrequited passion on the god's daughter Circe in Book 14 (*seu Venus indicio facit hoc offensa paterno*, 'whether Venus did this because she was offended by her father's tale-telling', 14.27) but also her continuing resentment of the wound she received on the Iliadic battlefield from Diomedes (14.477–8): *antiquo memores de uulnere poenas | exigit alma Venus* ('kindly Venus exacted punishment from him, mindful of the ancient wound'). In all three passages, Ovid's emphasis on the goddess' memory activates an allusion to the literary tradition through what Gian Biagio Conte has called 'poetic memory'.[22] Commentators observe that these are the emotions that drive Juno throughout the *Aeneid* (cf. e.g. *saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram*, 'on account of the mindful anger of savage Juno', Virg. *Aen.* 1.4).[23] But it may also be significant that the themes of memory and punishment for tale-bearing are intertwined at the conclusion of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, in the goddess' parting admonition to Anchises (*h.Aphr.* 281–90):

> ἦν δέ τις εἴρηταί σε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
> ἥ τίς σοι φίλον υἱὸν ὑπὸ ζώνῃ θέτο μήτηρ,
> τῷ δὲ σὺ μυθεῖσθαι μεμνημένος, ὥς σε κελεύω·
> φάσθαι τοι Νύμφης καλυκώπιδος ἔκγονον εἶναι,
> αἳ τόδε ναιετάουσιν ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλῃ·
> εἰ δέ κεν ἐξείπῃς καὶ ἐπεύξεαι ἄφρονι θυμῷ
> ἐν φιλότητι μιγῆναι ἐυστεφάνῳ Κυθερείῃ,
> Ζεύς σε χολωσάμενος βαλέει ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ.
> εἴρηταί τοι πάντα· σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῇσι νοήσας,
> ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀνόμαινε, θεῶν δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν.

But if any mortal person asks you what mother set your dear son beneath her girdle, you remember to tell him as I bid you: say that he is the offspring of a nymph with eyes like buds, such as those who inhabit this mountain dense with forest. But if you speak out and witlessly boast that you lay in love with well-crowned Aphrodite, Zeus will be angry at you

[22] G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca, NY, 1986); cf. J. F. Miller, 'Ovidian Allusion and the Vocabulary of Memory', *MD* 30 (1993).

[23] Cf. *Aen.* 1.25–9, 36–50, etc. On the Ovidian Venus' debt to Virgil's characterization of Juno in the *Aeneid*, see F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen: Kommentar Buch IV–V* (Heidelberg, 1976); Anderson (1996); and G. Rosati (ed.), *Ovidio Metamorfosi Volume III, Libri V–VI* (Rome, 2009) *ad loc.*

> and smite you with his smoking thunderbolt. I've told you everything. But you pay attention in your mind, restrain yourself and do not mention my name, but beware the wrath of the gods.

The goddess' reference to the punishment that awaits her lover, should he disclose the secret of his son's birth, seems to have been understood in antiquity as referring to a tradition in which Anchises did not keep the secret: Sophocles (*Laocoon*, fr. 373.2–3 = D. H. 1.48), Virgil (*Aen.* 2.649), and Hyginus (*Fab.* 94) all report that he was struck by a thunderbolt, while the notice in the *Iliad* that Aeneas was reared in the house of his brother-in-law (13.465–6) has been taken to imply 'a version of the story in which Anchises died while his son was still young'.[24] The *Homeric Hymn* and its reception thus provide evidence of Venus' long memory and abiding interest in punishing talebearers, independent of the characterization of Virgil's Juno.

At the outset of the tale of Leuconoe's sister Alcithoe, moreover, we learn that Venus had borne a third son, in addition to Aeneas and Cupid (whom Ovid mischievously pairs at *Am.* 3.9.13–14) (*Met.* 4.288–9): *Mercurio puerum diua Cythereide natum* | *Naides Idaeis enutriuere sub antris* . . . ('The naiads reared a boy born to Mercury by the Cytherean goddess beneath the grottoes of Ida'). Given to the nymphs to raise in Ida's caves, Hermaphroditus' upbringing echoes that which Aphrodite arranges for Aeneas in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (256–8, 273–5):

> τὸν μέν, ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἴδῃ φάος ἠελίοιο,
> Νύμφαι μιν θρέψουσιν ὀρεσκῴοι βαθύκολποι,
> αἳ τόδε ναιετάουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε·
> . . .
> αἳ μὲν ἐμὸν θρέψουσι παρὰ σφίσιν υἱὸν ἔχουσαι.
> τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἕλῃ πολυήρατος ἥβη,
> ἄξουσίν σοι δεῦρο θεαὶ δείξουσί τε παῖδα.
>
> Him, when he first sees the light of the sun, the deep-breasted Nymphs will rear on the mountains, who inhabit this great and holy mountain . . . They will rear my son, keeping him by them. As soon as lovely youth has come upon him, they will lead him here to you and show you your child.

[24] Olson (2012), 274 *ad loc.* On the iconographic tradition of a crippled Anchises, see *LIMC* i.59–93 s.v. *Aeneas*. For further references, see Faulkner (2008), 296 *ad loc.*

Bömer notes the parallel with Aphrodite's instructions to Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn* about leaving her son Aeneas with the nymphs of Ida.[25] Hermaphroditus, however, remains with his nurses until the age of fifteen (*Met.* 4.292–3: *is tria cum primum fecit quinquennia, montes | deseruit patrios Idaque altrice relicta . . .*, 'as soon as he made thrice five years, he deserted his ancestral mountains and left his dear nurse Ida'), three times as long as Aphrodite had planned to leave Aeneas in their care (*h.Aphr.* 276–7: 'σοὶ δ' ἐγώ, ὄφρα κε ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ πάντα διέλθω, | ἐς πέμπτον ἔτος αὖτις ἐλεύσομαι υἱὸν ἄγουσα', 'but, in order to go through all that I have in mind, I will come again towards the fifth year leading your son').

Hermaphroditus' fate—to be ravished by the Carian water-nymph Salmacis and transformed into a hermaphrodite, the subject of Alcithoe's prurient tale at *Met.* 4.285–388—anticipates that of another of Ida's handsome nurslings, the Trojan prince Ganymede. The latter's rape, briefly (and decorously) mentioned by Aeneas in *Iliad* 20 (lines 234–5), is elaborated by Aphrodite herself in her *Homeric Hymn*, as an explanation for her liaison with Anchises (*h.Aphr.* 200–6):[26]

ἀγχίθεοι δὲ μάλιστα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
αἰεὶ ἀφ' ὑμετέρης γενεῆς εἶδός τε φυήν τε.
Ἦ τοι μὲν ξανθὸν Γανυμέδεα μητίετα Ζεὺς
ἥρπασε ὃν διὰ κάλλος, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη
καί τε Διὸς κατὰ δῶμα θεοῖς ἐπιοινοχοεύοι,
θαῦμα ἰδεῖν, πάντεσσι τετιμένος ἀθανάτοισι,
χρυσέου ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν.

But of all mortal men, always those from your family are especially closely related to the gods in respect to physical attractiveness. For indeed cunning Zeus ravished blond Ganymede on account of his beauty, to be with the immortals and to pour wine for the gods in

[25] Bömer (1976), 109 *ad loc.*

[26] J. D. Reed, *Ovidio Metamorfosi Volume V, Libri X–XII* (Rome, 2013), 201 *ad Met.* 10.155–61, notes that the myth is found already at both *h.Aphr.* 202–17 and *Il.* 20.231–5, as also in later Greek authors (Ibycus fr. 289a *PMGF*; Pind. *Ol.* 1.43–5; Soph. fr. 345 Radt; Plato, *Phdr.* 255c; A.R. *Arg.* 3.114–17). F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen: Kommentar Buch X–XI* (Heidelberg, 1980), 66 *ad loc.*, does not note the parallels but cites instead Virg. *Aen.* 1.26–8: *manet alta mente repostum iudicium Paridis . . . et rapti Ganymedis honores* ('the Judgment of Paris remained embedded deeply in her mind . . . and the honours paid to ravished Ganymede').

> Zeus' house, a wonder to behold, honoured among all the immortals as he draws red nectar from a golden mixing bowl.

Ovid rehearses the tale of Jove's rape of the Trojan prince as the opening number in the song of Orpheus in *Metamorphoses* 10 (155–61):

> Rex superum Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore
> arsit, et inuentum est aliquid quod Iuppiter esse
> quam quod erat mallet. nulla tamen alite uerti
> dignatur, nisi quae posset sua fulmina ferre.
> nec mora, percusso mendacibus aere pennis
> abripit Iliaden, qui nunc quoque pocula miscet
> inuitaque Ioui nectar Iunone ministrat.
>
> The king of the gods once blazed with love of Phrygian Ganymede, and something was found that Jupiter preferred to be than what he was. Nevertheless, he disdained to be transformed into any winged creature except that which could bear his own thunderbolts. Without delay, he struck the air with false wings and snatched the Trojan youth, who now too mixes the gods' cups and serves Jove nectar against Juno's will.

Although neither Aeneas in the *Iliad* nor Aphrodite in her *Homeric Hymn* admit that Zeus' lust motivates the rape of Ganymede, specific details of the myth as Orpheus relates it confirm Ovid's use of the account in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* rather than the briefer version in the *Iliad*. For the Ovidian Orpheus, like the Homeric hymnist (*h.Aphr.* 202–3), credits Jupiter with the actual rape of Ganymede (*Met.* 10.159–60), and the verb Orpheus uses (*abripit*, *Met.* 10.160) echoes both the sound and the metrical *sedes*, at line beginning, of the verb in the *Homeric Hymn* (ἥρπασε, *h.Aphr.* 203). In the *Iliad*, by contrast, Aeneas reports that the gods collectively ravished Ganymede to give him to Zeus (*Il.* 20.234–5): τὸν καὶ ἀνηρέψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν | κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη ('whom the gods snatched up to pour wine for Zeus on account of his beauty, that he be among the immortals'). Orpheus also owes the details of Ganymede mixing cups and serving nectar to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (ἐπιοινοχοεύοι . . . ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων νέκταρ, *h.Aphr.* 204–6 ~ *pocula miscet . . . nectar ministrat*, *Met.* 10.160–1) rather than to the *Iliad*, where the youth pours wine (οἰνοχοεύειν, *Il.* 20.235) without the additional detail of drawing nectar from the mixing bowl.

Outside of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid adapts this section of the *Homeric Hymn* at greater length in *Heroides* 16, where Paris advances

to Helen a similar argument concerning the gods' desire for Trojan men (*Her.* 16.191–204):

> parca sed est Sparte, tu cultu diuite digna;
> ad talem formam non facit iste locus.
> hanc faciem largis sine fine paratibus uti
> deliciisque decet luxuriare nouis.
> cum uideas cultus nostra de gente uirorum,
> qualem Dardanias credis habere nurus?
> da modo te facilem nec dedignare maritum
> rure Therapnaeo nata puella Phrygem.
> Phryx erat et nostro genitus de sanguine, qui nunc
> cum dis potando nectare miscet aquas;
> Phryx erat Aurorae coniunx, tamen abstulit illum
> extremum noctis quae dea finit iter:
> Phryx etiam Anchises, uolucrum cui mater Amorum
> gaudet in Idaeis concubuisse iugis.

> But Sparta is frugal and you are worthy of a rich toilette; this place you're from does not suit such beauty. It behooves this face to enjoy expensive dress without limit and to revel in new pleasures. When you see the cultivation of the men of our family, do you believe Dardan wives have such poor adornment? Only show yourself gracious to me, nor disdain a Trojan husband when you are a girl born in rural Therapne. He was a Phrygian born of our bloodline who now mixes water with nectar for the gods to drink; Dawn's husband was Phrygian, though he was ravished by a goddess who defines night's distant journey; Anchises was also Phrygian, with whom the mother of winged Loves rejoices to have lain on Ida's peaks.

Drawing Helen's attention to his fine appearance, Paris asks her to imagine the luxury in which Dardan women dress and assures her that she herself deserves to be as beautifully turned out as they (*Her.* 16.191–6). His emphasis on Trojan men's cultivation is consistent with Ovid's interest in *cultus* elsewhere in his elegiac poetry (cf. *Ars* 3.101–34, *Medicamina*), but assumes particular point against the tradition of Trojan male beauty stressed in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. Moreover the turn Paris' argument takes, from Trojan men's good looks (16.195–6) to a catalogue of Trojan princes loved by the gods (16.199–204), closely tracks the movement of Aphrodite's words to Anchises on waking him after they make love, when she explains her desire for him as inspired by the outstanding beauty of Trojan men (*h.Aphr.* 200–1, quoted above) and compares the fates of Ganymede (*h.Aphr.* 202–17, partially quoted above), Tithonus (*h.Aphr.* 218–38), and Anchises himself (*h.Aphr.* 239–43). Paris in *Heroides* 16 thus

adduces precisely the same set of three comparanda in precisely the same order as the *Homeric Hymn*'s Aphrodite lists to Anchises.

Moreover, while Zeus' desire for Ganymede remains implicit in Aphrodite's account in the *Hymn* (*h.Aphr.* 203), as also in Paris' letter (*Her.* 16.199–200), the love goddess openly acknowledges Dawn's desire for Tithonus and her own for Anchises (*h.Aphr.* 218–27, 239–43):

> Ὣς δ' αὖ Τιθωνὸν χρυσόθρονος ἤρπασεν Ἠώς,
> ὑμετέρης γενεῆς, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι.
> βῆ δ' ἴμεν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα,
> ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζώειν ἤματα πάντα·
> τῇ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήηνεν ἐέλδωρ.
> νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσὶ πότνια Ἠὼς
> ἤβην αἰτῆσαι ξῦσαί τ' ἄπο γῆρας ὀλοιόν.
> τὸν δ' ἦ τοι εἵως μὲν ἔχεν πολυήρατος ἥβη,
> Ἠοῖ τερπόμενος χρυσοθρόνῳ, ἠριγενείῃ
> ναίε παρ' Ὠκεανοῖο ροῇς ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης·
> . . .
> Οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ γε σὲ τοῖον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἑλοίμην
> ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζώειν ἤματα πάντα.
> ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τοιοῦτος ἐὼν εἶδός τε δέμας τε
> ζώοις ἡμέτερός τε πόσις κεκλημένος εἴης,
> οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτά μ' ἄχος πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφικαλύπτοι.
>
> So also golden-throned Dawn ravished Tithonos, a member of your family and a man like the immortals. And she went to ask the dark-clouded son of Kronos for him to be immortal and to live on eternally; and Zeus nodded to her and fulfilled her desire. Foolish woman, mistress Dawn did not think in her wits to request perpetual youth and (the ability) to scour off deadly old age. Indeed while lovely youth prevailed, he delighted in bed with golden-throned Dawn, the early-born, and dwelt beside Ocean's streams at the furthest edge of earth . . . I would not choose such a fate for you among the immortals, to be immortal and to live on eternally. But if you could live such as you are now in physical appearance and be called our husband, grief would not then enwrap my subtle mind.

Ovid's most recent commentator locates the model for Paris' register of handsome Phrygians ravished by the gods in the third choral ode of Euripides' *Troades*, where the myths of Ganymede and Tithonus are detailed at length (Eur. *Tro.* 820–38, 847–57).[27] But the conjunction of the three myths (of Ganymede, Tithonus, and Anchises) in

[27] A. N. Michalopoulos, *Ovid Heroides 16 and 17: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Cambridge, 2006), 200–1 *ad loc.* E. J. Kenney, *Ovid, Heroides XVI–XXI*

rapid succession, following Paris' celebration of the Trojans' beauty, inclines me to see rather a direct reference to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in his letter.

In addition, several lexical details in *Heroides* 16 point to Ovid's unmediated allusion to the hymn. Both Aphrodite and Paris emphasize the genealogical relationship of the Trojan youths (to the addressee, Anchises, of Tithonus in Aphrodite's argument, *ὑμετέρης γενεῆς*, *h.Aphr.* 219; to the writer, Paris, of Ganymede in Paris' argument, *nostro genitus de sanguine*, *Her.* 16.199; cf. *nostra de gente uirorum*, *Her.* 16.195). Both mention Dawn's rape of Tithonus, with the verb in the same metrical *sedes* in both lines (*ἥρπασεν*, *h. Aphr.* 218; *abstulit*, *Her.* 16.201). Both attribute the role of husband to a ravished Trojan youth (counterfactually to Aeneas, *πόσις*, *h.Aphr.* 242; to Tithonus, *coniunx*, *Her.* 16.201). Both also refer to the distance traversed by Dawn, who lives at the ends of the earth (*ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης*, *h.Aphr.* 227) and defines the furthest limit of night's journey (*extremum noctis quae dea finit iter*, *Her.* 16.202). Again, moreover, the detail of the nectar Ganymede mixes with water for the gods to drink points to the *Homeric Hymn* (*ἐπιοινοχοεύοι | . . . ἀφύσσων νέκταρ*, *h.Aphr.* 204–6 ~ *cum dis potando nectare miscet aquas*, *Her.* 16.200); as does the specification of the peaks of Ida as the site of Venus' coupling with Anchises (*uolucrum . . . mater Amorum | gaudet in Idaeis concubuisse iugis*, *Her.* 16.203–4 ~ *h.Aphr.* 53–5): *Ἀγχίσεω δ' ἄρα οἱ γλυκύν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ, | ὅς τότ' ἐν ἀκροπόλοις ὄρεσιν πολυπιδάκου Ἴδης | βουκολέεσκεν βοῦς δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ἐοικώς* ('and then [Zeus] cast in [Aphrodite's] heart sweet desire for Anchises, who was tending cattle at that time on the high mountains of many-fountained Ida, similar to the immortals in appearance').

Ovid's repeated allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, whether alone or in dynamic combination with other *Homeric Hymns*, suggest that he knew both the individual hymn and the collection of *Homeric Hymns* well and also that he drew on them unselfconsciously when it suited his compositional purposes. It may be worthwhile, therefore, to consider by way of conclusion how the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and a collection of *Homeric Hymns* might have come to his attention. On the one hand, his playful reworking of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in conjunction with Callimachus' hymns to Apollo (*Hymn* 2) and Artemis (*Hymn* 3) in

(Cambridge, 1996), 109 *ad Her.* 16.203–4, however, notes the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* as the source of the Anchises comparandum here.

the Apollo and Daphne narrative of the first book of the *Metamorphoses* points to Callimachus' poetry as an important conduit to Rome of the Greek hymnic tradition; certainly Ovid's interest in Callimachus generally, and his hymns in particular, is well established.[28] In addition, however, Ovid's marked allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* through Virgilian intertexts (*Aen.* 1.633–6 ~ *Met.* 5.365–79; *Aen.* 1.4 ~ *Met.* 4.190–2, etc.) implicitly credit Virgil with a special prominence in the transmission of the *Homeric Hymns* into Latin literature. Stephen Harrison's attractive suggestion that Horace alludes to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* through the *Aeneid* at the conclusion of *Odes* 4.15 may lend some support to this suggested pattern of Ovidian allusion and indicate Horace's acknowledgement, like Ovid's, of Virgilian poetry as an important site of the *Homeric Hymns*' naturalization in Latin literature. It has been suggested that Philodemus was the source of the collection's physical removal from Greece to Rome,[29] and while not susceptible of proof this proposal would cohere well with the prominent association of Virgil with allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in the poetry of his contemporaries, given Virgil's apparently early familiarity with Philodemus and his library.[30]

[28] In addition to the bibliography cited above, in nn. 1 and 4–16, see e.g. J. McKay, *Erysichthon, a Callimachean Comedy* (Leiden, 1962), 19–33, and A. S. Hollis, *Ovid, Metamorphoses Book VIII* (Oxford, 1970), 129–30, on Ovid's use of Call. *Hymn* 6 in his Erysichthon narrative at *Met.* 8.738–878.

[29] This is the implication of Càssola (1984); cf. Olson (2011), 60–1 n. 11.

[30] On Philodemus' dedication of a work *On Flattery* to Virgil and three of his friends (P. Herc. Paris. 2), see M. Gigante and M. Capasso, 'Il ritorno di Virgilio a Ercolano', *SIFC* 7 (1989). On Virgil's familiarity with Siro and Philodemus, see further D. Sider, *The Epigrams of Philodemos: Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (Oxford, 1997), 18–23; D. Armstrong et al., *Vergil, Philodemus, and the Augustans* (Austin, TX, 2004); and G. Davis, *Parthenope: The Interplay of Ideas in Vergilian Bucolic* (Leiden, 2012). Might this also allow us to entertain the possibility of contact between Lucretius, whose *DRN* opens with a hymn to Aphrodite that has points of contact with the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, and Philodemus?

7

Hercules and Apollo in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

Jason S. Nethercut

PRELIMINARIES

Over a decade ago, Alessandro Barchiesi put forward an invitation for us to consider more thoroughly the influence of the *Homeric Hymns* on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[1] At that time, aside from Stephen Hinds' analysis of the use of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in *Metamorphoses* 5, no major work had been done to further our understanding of the individual allusions to the *Hymns* scattered throughout Ovid's poem.[2] Barchiesi's call to action goes largely unanswered to

[1] A. Barchiesi, 'Venus' Masterplot: Ovid and the Homeric Hymns', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds), *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's* Metamorphoses *and its Reception* (Cambridge, 1999), 123. For helpful suggestions on individual points in this chapter, I would like to thank Jenny Clay, Andrew Faulkner, Alison Keith, John Miller, Athanassios Vergados, and Emily Wilson. For more formative feedback on my argument as a whole given at various points in its formulation, I thank Joseph Farrell, John Henderson, and the anonymous reader. Any errors or infelicities that remain are, of course, my own.

[2] S. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone. Ovid and the Self-Conscious Muse* (Cambridge, 1987a), esp. 72–98. In addition to his treatment, we should note the other most famous allusions to the *Hymns* in the *Metamorphoses*: to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in the Apollo–Python/Apollo–Daphne episode in *Met.* 1 (on which, see J. F. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets* (Cambridge, 2009), 339, with further bibliography) and to the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* in *Met.* 3 when Bacchus narrates the metamorphosis of the Etruscan sailors into dolphins (on which, see Barchiesi (1999), 124, and, in this volume, Chapter 5, p. 95). Additionally, Y. Syed, 'Ovid's Use of the Hymnic Genre in the Metamorphoses', in A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, and S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production*

this day.[3] This chapter is an attempt to make this gap in the literature on the *Metamorphoses* somewhat smaller. My basic argument is that in the *Metamorphoses* Ovid associates Hercules with Apollo primarily through allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and that this association engages with the politicization of both Hercules and Apollo in Augustan Rome; through allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Ovid undermines any political or religious importance that had been attached to these figures by the *princeps*.

I should say a few words at the outset about the theoretical assumptions of my argument. I have already described the reception of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in Ovid as 'allusion'. Throughout my argument, I choose this word purposefully as an alternative to 'reference' or 'intertextuality', and I do so specifically with Stephen Hinds' ideas in mind.[4] In adopting this theoretical premise, I assume with the intertextualists that the ultimate intention of the author (in this case, Ovid) is unknowable and not part of the text I am analysing (the *Metamorphoses*). On the other hand, I will describe the process of appropriation in this chapter as a fairly straightforward one, in which the (implied) reader is meant to recognize the presence of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in Ovid's text; I offer one specific avenue of interpretation when confronted by the *Hymn*'s presence. My argument will thus deemphasize the complex process of allusion, which involves, as Hinds argues, 'indirection as much as direction, concealment as much as revelation';[5] this does not mean, however, that I deny that allusion is a complex process.

in Ancient Rome (Stuttgart 2004) argues for the importance of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* in *Met*. 1.

[3] On the *Hymns* in the *Metamorphoses*, Syed (2004) is the only focused study that has been completed since Barchiesi (1999). That the influence of the *Hymns* on Latin authors is generally understudied may result from the fact that some believe that the *Hymns* were not very influential (see Chapter 1). There is some confusion on this point, however, as one finds arguments for allusions to the *Hymns* scattered throughout the literature on many Latin authors, while T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936) note many allusions to the *Hymns* in Latin literature, e.g. at 215, the allusion to *h.Ap.* 97–9 at *Aen*. 12.792; at 219, the allusion to *h.Ap.* 117 by Catullus (34.7); at 342, the allusion to *h.Herm.* 515–16 by Horace at *Carm*. 1.10.11 (but see the scepticism of R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace, Odes I* (Oxford, 1970), 132); and, at 361, the allusion to *h. Aphr.* 136 by Ovid at *Her*. 5.83–4.

[4] S. E. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998), 17–51, esp. 21–5 and 47–51.

[5] *Ibid*. 25.

THE BIRTHS OF HERCULES AND APOLLO

Studies of the Hercules episode in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (9.1–272) have focused on Sophocles' *Trachiniae* as both source and primary model.[6] This is surely right, yet Ovid incorporates important deviations from his 'original'. Sophocles' play ends with the hero suffering on the pyre and with his apotheosis perhaps hinted at, but not guaranteed.[7] In the *Metamorphoses*, however, we actually witness Hercules' apotheosis, a passage loaded with Augustan overtones. In addition, the apotheosis is followed by the story of the hero's birth as told by his mother Alcmena (9.273–323).[8] The implied linkage between Hercules' apotheosis and his birth invites interpretation. As I will argue, this linkage is deepened by a parallelism between Hercules and Apollo, primarily through allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.

Because Hercules' birth narrative is such a clear token of the relationship between Hercules and Apollo in Ovid's poem, it is with

[6] On the Hercules episode, see G. K. Galinsky, 'Hercules Ovidianus (*Metamorphoses* IX, 1–272)', *WS* 85 (1972b) and D. A. Secci, 'Ovid *Met*. 9.1–97: Through the Eyes of Achelous', *G&R* 56 (2009). See F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen: Kommentar Buch VIII–IX* (Heidelberg, 1977), 271–9; Secci (2009), 34 n.1; and D. Curley, *Tragedy in Ovid. Theater, Metatheater, and the Transformation of a Genre* (Cambridge, 2013), 162–70 for the evidence that Ovid primarily follows Sophocles.

[7] See e.g. C. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization. An Interpretation of Sophocles* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), 99–102 on the death of Heracles and his possible apotheosis in the *Trachiniae*.

[8] With this disruption in the chronology of the narrative, Ovid may indicate his awareness of the disjointedness in the *Hymn*'s structure, which has led modern scholars to doubt its unity. The scholarly assessment of the *Hymn* is a microcosm of the unitarian debate, with some arguing that it is in fact two distinct hymns. For an overview of the problem with good coverage of earlier ideas, see K. Förstel, *Untersuchungen zum homerischen Apollonhymnos* (Bochum, 1979), 20–62. More recent contributions to the debate are A. M. Miller, 'The "Address to the Delian Maidens" in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: Epilogue or Transition?', *TAPhA* 109 (1979); A. M. Miller, *From Delos to Delphi: A Literary Study of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (Leiden, 1986); R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge, 1982); W. G. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry* (Baltimore, MD, 1984); J. S. Clay, *The Politics of Olympus: Form and Meaning in the Major 'Homeric Hymns'* (Princeton, NJ, 1989); J. S. Clay, 'Tendenz and Olympian Propaganda in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*', in J. Solomon (ed.), *Apollo: Origins and Influences* (London, 1994); and E. Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Poetry in its Setting* (Princeton, NJ, 1996). M. Chappell, 'The Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*: The Question of Unity', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011) offers an excellent overview of the *status quaestionis*, himself arguing that the *Hymn* as we have it does not represent a single composition.

this that I begin. After Hercules' apotheosis (9.261–72), Ovid redirects his narrative to Hercules' mother, who relates the difficulty she experienced in giving birth to the hero (9.273–315). This difficulty is the work of Juno, who has bribed Lucina to keep her from releasing Alcmena from her labour. In reading the Hercules passage, one notices narrative details that are not usually associated with this hero, his seven-day birth in particular being almost unparalleled. While the earliest reference to Hera's deception in delaying Hercules' birth is in Homer (*Il.* 19.119), who mentions it in passing, the motif of a birth that is prolonged by some antagonist appears only very seldom. In fact, the most famous and extensive example is Leto's nine-day labour in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. There, similarly, Hera prevents Eileithyia from attending Leto because she gives birth to one of Zeus' children. Just as Leto is pierced through with labour pains (πέπαρτο, *h.Ap.* 92) for nine days and nights (ἐννῆμάρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας, *h.Ap.* 91), Ovid's Alcmena is tortured (*cruciata*, *Met.* 9.292) for seven nights and days (*septem . . . per noctes, totidem . . . diebus*, *Met.* 9.292). These are the only two extended narratives in Greco-Roman literature in which Hera/Juno actively prevents the goddess of childbirth from attending the birth of a son of Zeus/Jupiter. Could Ovid be alluding to the *Hymn*?

At first glance this might not seem obvious. If there is allusion, it has not been recognized by any commentator so far. And yet, the motif of delayed birth is so unusual that the idea deserves consideration, especially since this motif is also accompanied in both narratives by a temporal reference and an emphasis on the suffering that attends labour. Such coincidence of narrative detail is striking enough and makes it quite likely on its own that Ovid is alluding to the *Hymn* here. But some of the details in the two birth narratives do not line up: for instance, why does Ovid change the duration of labour from nine days in the *Hymn* to seven? One explanation is the fact that seven is a number that was widely associated with Apollo. This difference in itself may actually serve as a marker of allusion when we consider that seven was Apollo's holy number and was particularly associated with his birth. For example, Hesiod (*Op.* 770–1) says that Leto gave birth to Apollo on the seventh day of the month, an idea adopted by the Pythagoreans.[9] Accordingly, Apollo's principal feast day took place

[9] See Nicomachus, *Manual of Harmonics*, 74, on the association of Apollo's birthday and its symbolism in the number seven.

on the seventh of every month, while at Athens festivals that honoured Apollo, like the Boedromia and the Thargelia, took place on the seventh.[10] Another explanation for Ovid's numerical alteration is the tendency of allusive authors to vary details of just this kind. Most famously, perhaps, Virgil, in the 'Days' section of *Georgics* 1, assigns to the seventeenth day of the month activities that in his Hesiodic original take place on the twelfth (setting up the loom: *G* 1.285–6; *Op*. 776–9), the thirteenth (planting the vine: *G* 1.284; *Op*. 780–1), and the fourteenth (taming oxen: *G* 1.285; *Op*. 794–7).[11] Other differences between the two birth narratives are even more easily explained: the reversal of night and day from the *Hymn* in the *Metamorphoses* (*ἐννῆμάρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας*, *h.Ap*. 91; *septem . . . per noctes, totidem . . . diebus*, *Met*. 9.292) is a straightfoward instance of *oppositio in imitando*, the 'quintessentially Alexandrian type' of allusion.[12]

[10] Ovid innovates here in having Hercules' birth take an unusually long time. Elsewhere in the tradition, of course, Hercules' conception is delayed by Jupiter extending the one night in which he makes love with Alcmena. Could it be that Ovid is 'repurposing' the motif of delay in the service of assimilating Hercules to Apollo?

[11] See e.g. R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics. Volume 1: Books I–II* (Cambridge, 1988), 117 and J. Farrell, *Vergil's* Georgics *and the Traditions of Ancient Epic: The Art of Allusion in Literary History* (Oxford, 1991), 70–8.

[12] R. F. Thomas, 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference', *HSPh* 90 (1986), 185; see *ibid*. 185–9 for further illustration of this allusive practice. While an expression like *ἐννῆμάρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας* may seem formulaic, in fact this is the only time, not just in Homer but in all of Greek literature, that *ἐννῆμαρ* appears with any temporal doublet, let alone one as specific as *ἐννέα νύκτας*. Moreover, *ἐννῆμαρ* in the *Hymn* is distinct from what one finds elsewhere in early epic, where it is usually followed by *τῇ δεκάτῃ* et sim. (see *Il*. 1.54, 6.174, 24.612, 24.665, 24.785; *Od*. 7.253, 9.83, 10.29, 12.447, 14.314; *h.Dem*. 51.); in the *Hymn* we find no such language, further suggesting that the *Hymn* itself, and not some other Homeric passage, is the object of allusion. Not only that, but other phrases like *ἐννῆμάρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας* are far less frequent in Greek than one might expect; in fact, I have found only four instances that could have been known to Ovid, and it seems quite unlikely that Ovid alludes to any of them in the Hercules episode (*πένθ' ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἴσας*, Demosthenes, *In Timocratem* 114; *ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἑπτὰ νύκτας*, Herodotus 3.129; *ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας*, Diodorus Siculus 17.85; *ἐν ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ καὶ ταῖς ἴσαις νυξί*, Diodorus Siculus 18.44). Likewise, in Latin, I have found only seven phrases of a broadly similar type. Only two of these antedate the *Metamorphoses*, and none comes from a narrative context that resembles the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* as closely as the Ovidian line under discussion (*tris . . . soles | erramus . . . totidem . . . noctes*, Virgil, *Aen*. 3.204–5; *tricenasque trahent . . . noctes | et totidem luces adiment*, Manilius 3.348–9; *biduo et duabus noctibus*, Nepos, *Han*. 6.3; *per bis quinque dies et iunctas ordine noctes*, Ovid, *Met*. 11.96; *per sex dies septemque noctes*, Suetonius, *Nero* 38.2; *septenis diebus noctibusque sine intermissione*, Pliny the Elder, *NH* 37.194.4; *dierum ac noctium decem*, Pliny the Elder, *NH* 5.10.9).

Other considerations support the idea that Ovid may allude to the *Hymn*. For instance, the Ovidian narrator initially identifies the goddess of childbirth with her Greek name, Ilithyia (*Met*. 9.283). This name is exceedingly rare before Ovid.[13] It does, of course, appear four times in the *Hymn to Apollo* (97, 103, 110, 115). But then in the *Metamorphoses,* when Alcmena herself calls upon Ilithyia, she uses her Roman name, Lucina (9.294). Of course, this complicates the situation because the name Eileithyia denotes an aspect (or an associate) of the goddess Artemis, while Lucina denotes an aspect (or associate) of Juno.[14] Accordingly, whereas Eileithyia in the *Hymn* did not perceive Leto's suffering (*οὐκ ἐπέπυστο*, 97), Lucina in Ovid explicitly does perceive Alcmena's suffering (*audit gemitus*, 9.297), but instead of helping her works to prevent Alcmena from delivering the baby. Thus Ovid takes advantage of the different ways in which Greek and Roman religion conceived of the goddess of childbirth to give her a more powerful, if paradoxical, role in his adaptation.[15] It

[13] Horace was the first to use this name in Latin literature in the *Carmen Saeculare* (14), shortly before Ovid himself introduced it at *Amores* 2.13.21. Of course, as John Miller reminds me, Horace's use of the name reflects the naming of the Ilithyiae at the actual ceremony, which prayer survives in the inscriptional *Acta*. Provocative for the association of this goddess with the birth of Hercules in Ovid is the fact that the Ilithyiae received the same bloodless sacrifice of cakes as Apollo on the very same day of the festival (see D. C. Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome. Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs* (Cambridge, 1998), 31).

[14] On the problems involved with Ovid's Lucina, see Bömer (1977), 361–2. Ovid appears to have been anticipated by Horace, both of whom may purposefully complicate the identity of the goddess of childbirth by referring to her with different names (see Feeney (1998), 33 and R. F. Thomas, *Horace Odes IV and Carmen Saeculare* (Cambridge, 2011), 67–8).

[15] The allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* that I have been exploring may be further sanctioned by a window allusion (cf. Thomas (1986), 188–9). When Ovid's Hercules details his slaying of Ladon, the snake that guards the apples of the Hesperides, it is possible that he connects this civilizing action back to Apollo's defeat of Python in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* through allusion to an intermediary text, Euripides' *Heracles*. Hercules' description of the apples in the Hesperides' garden that are guarded by the snake (*poma ab insomni concustodita dracone*, *Met*. 9.190) recalls Euripides' phrase *ἀμφελικτὸς ἕλικ' ἐφρούρει* (*HF*, 398–9) that describes this same serpent. Of note here is that *concustodire* is an Ovidian *hapax*, while the adjective *ἀμφελικτός* (*HF* 398) is a Euripidean *hapax*, found nowhere else in Greek literature. Ovid, then, uses his own *hapax* to cite an earlier *hapax*, as well as the entire phrase in which it occurred (*concustodita*=*ἀμφελικτός*; *concustodita*=*ἐφρούρει*). The Euripidean *hapax* and the phrase *ἀμφελικτὸς ἕλικ'* could be seen to connect Ladon with its mythological archetype in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where the dying Python is said to whirl about frequently (*πυκνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἑλίσσετο*, *h.Ap.* 361). Elsewhere in Euripides' tragedy, the chorus connect the civilizing activity of Heracles

therefore seems very likely that Ovid is alluding to the *Hymn*, with a bit of expected *variatio*, as a way of likening Hercules' birth to that of Apollo; the *variatio* itself, in fact, may serve as a key indicator of the allusion.

THE BIRTHS AND CLAIMS TO DIVINITY OF HERCULES AND APOLLO

If Ovid alludes to the *Hymn* in the way I have suggested, how are we to interpret such an allusion? The rest of this chapter will focus on answering this question. I note first of all that Ovid draws a connection between the birth of Hercules and the birth of Apollo on the one hand, and on each figure's claim to divinity on the other. These connections can be seen in adjacent episodes of the two narratives, again with significant variation. In the *Hymn*, just after the birth narrative, Apollo holds forth concerning his divine prerogatives (131–2). But in the *Metamorphoses*, just before the birth narrative, Hercules encounters difficulty in claiming his own divine prerogatives: Jupiter, in effect, has to pull rank over all the other gods to bring Hercules into their number (*si quis Hercule, si quis | forte deo doliturus erit . . . | . . . invitusque probabit, Met.* 9.256–8). When Hercules does finally enter upon his divinity, he becomes awesome 'in his august weightiness' (*augusta . . . gravitate*, *Met.* 9.270). Ovid recalls this moment seventeen lines later in the birth narrative, when Hercules—not yet 'august', but already 'weighty'—stretches out Alcmena's womb (*tendebat gravitas uterum*, *Met.* 9.287).[16] This is just one of many verbal echoes that connects this final scene with the rest of the Hercules episode.[17] In this particular case, the shared motif of *gravitas* figures apotheosis as a kind of second birth, and implies that Hercules is owed apotheosis as a condition of his birth, inasmuch as he is the son of Jupiter. But the contrast between Hercules' claim to

with that of Apollo (*HF* 687–700, 787–90): both figures rid the world of terrifying beasts (*πέρσας δείματα θηρῶν*, *HF* 700). Of course, the verb *ἐλίσσω* is such a common verb that it is an uncertain piece of evidence in establishing a window allusion here.

[16] Galinsky (1972b), 104 discusses this parallel.

[17] See D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic. Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1991), 205–9, for good discussion of this point.

divinity and Apollo's is stark. Apollo claims the prerogatives of divinity immediately after his birth; Hercules earns divinity through hard labour.[18]

HERCULES, APOLLO, AND AUGUSTUS

In addition to the contrast between their claims to divinity, the allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in the Hercules episode must be interpreted within the context of Ovid's general association of Apollo and Hercules throughout the *Metamorphoses*. This association is deeply involved with the fact that both were prominent Augustan symbols. Apollo is an important deity in the *Metamorphoses*. Not only does Apollo figure prominently in the first of many erotic episodes in the poem, and, therefore, become programmatically implicated in its broader themes, but he is also consistently associated—both implicitly and explicitly—with Augustus, whose presence—likewise implicitly and explicitly—dominates the *Metamorphoses*.[19] Moreover, he appears throughout the poem in many different episodes.[20] Hercules, on the other hand, has one major cameo at the beginning of *Metamorphoses* 9, then recedes into the background of the narrative. Yet in this cameo, Hercules is characterized in ways that remind the reader of Apollo.

We can see this perhaps most conspicuously at the very moment when Hercules undergoes his deification. The hero is said to 'take off his mortal limbs' (*mortales Tirynthius exuit artus*, *Met.* 9.268).

[18] This contrast may be implicated in the suggestion by Barchiesi (1999) that allusion to the *Hymns* is more prominent at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses*, when the gods are the focus of the narrative, and such allusion gradually stops as Ovid's poem shifts to mortal characters. The nuance involved in the allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* I am exploring in contrast to the conspicuousness of the allusion to the same *Hymn* at *Met.* 1.438–47 may reflect this general trajectory.

[19] See Miller (2009), 332–73 for the god in the poem and his connection to Augustus; cf. D. Urban, *Die augusteische Herrschaftsprogrammatik in Ovids Metamorphosen* (Frankfurt, 2005), 5–87. On the one hand, Miller shows that Ovid presents Apollo consistently as deficient or deviant; on the other, Ovid forges a politically charged connection between Apollo on the Palatine and Jupiter on the Capitoline, aligning these two deities in the person of Augustus. Such ideological ambiguities reflect Ovid's 'strategy in his more broadly destabilizing aesthetic' (334).

[20] Urban (2005), 21–79, and Miller (2009), 350–67.

Similarly, Apollo later 'puts on a mortal appearance' (*mortalem induitur formam*, *Met*. 11.203) when he helps Laomedon build the walls of Troy. Bömer has already suggested that these two lines allude to one another.[21] We can add to this suggestion that these are the only two collocations of *exuere*/*induere* with a noun modified by the adjective *mortalis* not only in the *Metamorphoses* but in all of Latin literature. While this verbal echo is reason enough to recognize a connection between Hercules and Apollo here, it is even more striking that this line appears shortly before Hercules is reintroduced for the only time other than in the major episode at *Met*. 9.1–272.[22] It is almost as if Ovid wants to remind his reader of the difficult transition between mortality and divinity that Hercules undergoes precisely while showing us how easily Apollo bridges this divide. At the same time, Apollo exits the Laomedon episode exactly as Hercules enters it: Apollo's demand that Hesione be sacrificed to the sea-monster (*regis quoque filia monstro | poscitur aequoreo*, *Met.* 11.211–12) gives way to Hercules' rescue of the maiden in a span of three lines (*quam dura ad saxa revinctam | vindicat Alcides*, *Met*. 11.212–13). Very literally, then, are Apollo and Hercules closely linked, though in opposing roles—the one giving way to the other.[23]

This association of Hercules and Apollo in the *Metamorphoses* is strengthened by the fact that Ovid characterizes both with ideas that are prominent in Augustan discourse. The literature on this subject is extensive.[24] I adduce here the most prominent evidence. Of primary

[21] Bömer (1977), 357–8.

[22] On this point, see S. M. Wheeler, *A Discourse of Wonders. Audience and Performance in Ovid's* Metamorphoses (Philadelphia, PA, 1999), 136–9.

[23] The anonymous reader suggests to me that it would be ideal if we can see Ovid alluding to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in this section as well. Unfortunately, concrete evidence to that effect is not forthcoming, but I note in passing that this is the one time in the *Metamorphoses* that Apollo takes mortal form (although 'the Sun' does take the form of Eurynome at 4.217–21) and that the god's mortal disguise in the *Hymn* at 449–50 is quite unusual in early Greek epic (only five total instances: *Il.* 16.715–20, 17.71–3, 17.322–6, 17.581–5, and 20.600–11; other divinities, especially Athena, do this far more frequently). While we do have a verbal correspondence between the *Hymn*'s ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος at 449 and Ovid's *mortalem induitur formam* at 11.203, I think the underlined words recur too frequently to anchor an allusion for the reader.

[24] On Augustan discourse in the poetry of Ovid, see O. S. Due, *Changing Forms: Studies in the Metamorphoses of Ovid* (Copenhagen, 1974), 67–122; D. F. Kennedy, '"Augustan" and "Anti-Augustan": Reflections on Terms of Reference', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (Bristol, 1992); A. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince. Ovid and Augustan Discourse* (Berkeley, CA,

consideration is the fact that the story of Daphne and Apollo culminates with the aetiological coda explaining the special association of the laurel with Augustus (*Met.* 1.560–5).[25] Moreover, the slaying of Python that introduces Apollo into the poem, though brief, has been seen to make extensive allusion to Augustan mythology surrounding the Battle of Actium in the poetry of Propertius (4.6) and Virgil.[26] Apollo is consistently connected with his (lack of) healing powers throughout the poem; these powers appear to have been central to his Augustan disposition.[27] Similarly, Ovid scatters Augustan themes throughout the Hercules episode.[28] I have already had occasion to mention how the newly deified Hercules is said to have retained his *augusta gravitas* (*Met.* 9.270), an explicit connection between Hercules and Augustus if ever there were one.[29] The description of Hercules as *vindex terrae*

1997b); and Urban (2005). For Apollo and Augustus in the *Metamorphoses* the most extensive discussions are H. Le Bonniec, 'Apollon dans les *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide', in J. M. Frécaut (ed.), *Journées ovidiennes de Parménie* (Brussels, 1985); and Miller (2009), 332–73; cf. J. M. Frécaut, 'La métamorphose de Niobé chez Ovide (*Met.* VI, 301–12)', *Latomus* 39 (1980). For Hercules and Augustus in the *Metamorphoses*, see G. K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme. The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1972a), 156–60 and (1972b); and Feeney (1991), 206–7.

[25] See N. Holzberg, 'Apollos erste Liebe und die Folgen. Ovids Daphne-Erzählung als Programm für Werk und Wirkung', *Gymnasium* 106 (1999) and Miller (2009), 344.

[26] Miller (2009), 340–2; cf. V. Buchheit, 'Mythos und Geschichte in Ovids *Metamorphosen* I', *Hermes* 94 (1966).

[27] e.g. *Met.* 1.521–4 and the Aesculapius episode (*Met.* 15.626–744, esp. 626–40). On Apollo's healing and Augustus, see B. L. Wickkiser, 'Augustus, Apollo, and an Ailing Rome: Images of Augustus as a Healer of State', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XII* (Brussels, 2005); cf. F. Stok, 'La rivincita di Esculapio', in G. Brugnoli and F. Stok (eds), *Ovidio παρῳδήσας* (Pisa, 1992), 174–80 and Miller (2009), 345.

[28] Ovid was not alone among poets in connecting Hercules with Augustus. Horace (*C.* 1.12.25, 3.3.9–12, 3.14.1–4, 4.5.29–36, 4.8.30, *Ep.* 2.1.10–14; cf. Galinsky (1972b), 106), Propertius (3.11.17–20; cf. W. R. Nethercut, 'Propertius 3.11', *TAPhA* 102 (1971), 425–6), and Virgil (specifically, *Aen.* 6.801–3, but this connection between the hero and the *princeps* is felt throughout the epic; cf. V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963), 116–33 and G. K. Galinsky, 'The Hercules–Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII', *AJPh* 87 (1966); (1972a), 131–49; and (1972b), 106–14) all do so, though the interpretations of this connection vary.

[29] One thinks in this connection of Livy's characterization of Hercules and Romulus, both prototypes of the *princeps*, as *augustior* (1.7.9 and 1.8.9). On this phrase in Ovid, see A. La Penna, 'La lirica civile di Orazio e l'ideologia del principato', *Maia* 13 (1961), 239; D. A. Little, 'The Non-Augustanism of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', *Mnemosyne* 25 (1972), 397; Galinsky (1972a), 160 and (1972b), 104; E. Doblhofer, 'Ovid ein "Urvater der Résistance"? Beobachtungen zur Phaethonerzählung in den Metamorphosen, 1, 747-2, 400', in W. Danhofer (ed.), *400 Jahre Akademisches Gymnasium* (Graz, 1973),

three lines later (*Met.* 9.241) continues this association of the hero with the *princeps* given that he labelled himself *vindex libertatis* on coinage.[30] In light of this evidence, the case can be made that the association of Apollo with Hercules throughout the *Metamorphoses* is founded on the connection that Ovid draws between these two figures and Augustus himself.

In connecting Hercules and Apollo with one another and with Augustus, Ovid was accessing an association that we know was prominent in Augustus' own portrayal of himself and the visual language he employed in his building programme. The evidence for Augustus' self-association with Apollo is well known and is seen in its fullest expression in the temple of Apollo Palatinus.[31] By all accounts, in embracing Apollo, Augustus focused on a deity who until that time was peripheral in Roman religion. Hercules, on the other hand, was from Rome's beginnings a prominent figure. For example, when Livy connects Augustus with Romulus, he says that the *only* foreign religious rite that Romulus adopted was the cult of Hercules (1.7.15).[32] Livy here adds his voice to the other writers of this period who draw a connection between the *princeps* and Hercules.[33] Moreover, in the current volume, Clauss shows that Hercules is associated with Augustus throughout Augustan literature via window allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* via Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*.[34] This association carries political implications, as Hercules' defeat of Cacus activates the struggle for royal power inherent in the theft of Apollo's cattle in the *Hymn*. The historical record also provides evidence that Augustus actively associated himself with Hercules. For example, he scheduled his Triple Triumph so as to coincide with the annual festival of Hercules at the Ara Maxima (13 August). Such a move may have served to counter or detract from the

143–5; C. Moulton, 'Ovid as Anti-Augustan: *Met.* 15.843–79', *CW* 67 (1973); Due (1974), 64, 66–8, 73, and 79; and Feeney (1991), 207.

[30] On which, see Bömer (1977) *ad loc.* with further bibliography.

[31] See the detailed account of the evidence for Octavian's association with Apollo in Miller (2009), 15–30. On the Palatine Temple of Apollo, see *ibid.* 185–252, with further bibliography.

[32] See further R. Schilling, 'L'Hercule romain en face de la réforme religieuse d'Auguste', *RPh* 68 (1942).

[33] See n. 28 above.

[34] See Chapter 3, section on Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*.

propaganda of Antony (and Pompey before him) that he was Hercules' successor on earth.[35] Whatever the reason may be, we have ample evidence for an association between Augustus and both Apollo and Hercules in the historical record.

Perhaps the most explicit manifestation of this association appears in the iconographic representation of Hercules and Apollo fighting over the Delphic tripod among the Campana reliefs at Augustus' Temple of Apollo Palatinus (see Strazzulla (1990), 16). Unconvincing are any attempts to interpret this image in simplistic political terms, where Hercules represents Antony and Apollo represents Augustus.[36] In the first place, the dating does not appear to work for such an interpretation. The dedication of the temple before Naulochus in 36 BC coupled with the intricate design and scale of its lavish complex would seem to suggest that the decorative scheme had to be planned out, at least in its broadest contours, before the decisive victory over Antony at Actium.[37] Secondly, a convincing case has been made that depicted here is a scene of resolution, not conflict.[38] In most earlier depictions of the struggle over the tripod, Hercules is shown running away from Apollo with the tripod in his hands.[39] In contrast to this tradition, the Campana relief shows Apollo and Hercules facing one another, each with his right hand grasping the tripod between them. The figures are archaic in stance, relaxed in stature. More persuasive, therefore, is the suggestion that we have here a scene of the reconciliation between Hercules and Apollo.

At the same time, given the nature of this scene, we are still invited to reflect on the struggle itself. The two deities may be putting their contest behind them, but the reality of the conflict is not suppressed.

[35] Appian (*B.C.* 3.16) tells how fervently Antony pursued his kinship connection with Hercules.

[36] For welcome scepticism on this point, see R. A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1995), 125–6, and G. K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton, NJ, 1998), 222–4. M. J. Strazzulla, *Il principato di Apollo. Mito e propaganda nelle lastre 'Campania' dal tempio di Apollo Palatino* (Rome, 1990) provides the most detailed treatment of this Campana relief and the others found in the area of the temple, similarly rejecting simplistic political interpretations of these images.

[37] For a more thorough defence of a date for the temple decorations that precedes Actium, see Gurval (1995), 126.

[38] For this point, see Galinsky (1998), 222–3.

[39] Perhaps most famously in a black-figure neck amphora by the Amasis Painter and on the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.

In the end, this creates more tension in the image than many allow for. Such tension would comport well with other aspects of the visual programme in this temple: for example, the Danaid statues that lined the portico, which could be read either as avengers over their Egyptian foes or as perpetrators of the most heinous spilling of kindred blood in the mythological tradition. Given that the Campana relief is the only locus in Augustan Rome that explicitly connects Hercules and Apollo, albeit in quite a different cultural context (the immediate aftermath of Actium versus the late Augustan period), this tension is important for us to consider when we return to the conflation of Hercules and Apollo in the *Metamorphoses*. The Campana relief shows us that ambiguity could attend the connection of these two figures elsewhere in Augustan Rome.

Within this context, I want to reaffirm my earlier suggestion that Hercules' association with the *Homeric Hymn*'s Apollo implicitly complicates Hercules' deification by underscoring the difficulty with which Hercules is admitted into the pantheon. This suggestion has implications both for how we are to understand any Augustan themes involved in Ovid's portrayal of Hercules and Apollo and, more importantly, for how we are to understand how the *Homeric Hymns* could be deployed in the religious and political discourse of subsequent authors.[40] Fortunately, we have abandoned the simplistic dichotomy of 'ideologies' that are 'pro-Augustan' versus 'anti-Augustan'.[41] In its place, one now speaks of 'Augustan discourse'[42] or 'Augustan cultural thematics'.[43] This is a welcome change, not least

[40] For the original political and religious importance of the *Homeric Hymns*, see Clay (1989) and J. S. Clay, 'Theology and Religion in the *Homeric Hymns*', in R. Bouchon, P. Brillet-Dubois, and N. Le Meur-Weissman (eds.), *Hymnes de la grèce antique: approches littéraires et historiques* (Lyon, 2012), with further bibliography; cf. W. D. Furley and J. M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period. I, The Texts in Translation. II, Greek Texts and Commentary* (Tübingen, 2001), I, vii–xii. On the philosophical and religious implications of the *Hymns*' reception, see in this volume especially Chapter 12, subsection on Adapting the *Hymn to Hermes*, pp. 226–39, and Chapter 11, subsection on Proclus' *Hymn to Aphrodite*, pp. 209–11. On political resonances that attend the *Hymns*' reception, see Chapter 14.

[41] See Kennedy (1992) and the essays in T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro (eds), *The Roman Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, 1997), especially the editors' introduction.

[42] Barchiesi (1997b).

[43] G. K. Galinsky, 'Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Augustan Cultural Thematics', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds), *Ovidian Transformations. Essays on the Metamorphoses and its Reception* (Cambridge, 1999).

because these new terms emphasize the complicated dynamics of cultural exchange and communication, whereas the earlier dichotomy (as dichotomies always must do implicitly) insisted on static, permanent conceptions of the same.[44]

While such an emphasis on nuance is a welcome corrective, we must still take seriously the negative implications of the association in the *Metamorphoses* between Hercules and Apollo.[45] After all, Hercules' apotheosis serves as a prototype for all of the subsequent apotheoses in Ovid's poem, including those of Julius Caesar and (it is implied) Augustus himself.[46] When Ovid has Jupiter threaten the other gods into agreement regarding the deification of Hercules, this necessarily affects our interpretation of the legitimacy of those later deifications. As I suggested above in the section on The Births and Claims to Divinity of Hercules and Apollo, the allusive juxtaposition of Hercules and Apollo encourages the reader to reflect on their different claims to divinity. Apollo in the *Hymn* immediately claims his divine prerogatives after birth, while Ovid's Hercules has a much more complicated path to divinity. Yet the connection forged between these two figures is multifaceted. Just as this connection highlights the difficulty involved in Hercules' claims to divinity by emphasizing how his mortality complicates his entrance into the pantheon in contrast to Apollo's, so too does it problematize the divinity of Apollo because he is associated with Hercules' mortality and the difficulty with which he is transformed into a god. And it is not a far step to connect all of this back to Augustus himself, who was clearly comfortable with the implications for his own divinity effected by his

[44] Of course, one can always push for a position that aligns closely with the poles of the earlier dichotomy. Barchiesi advocates for 'Augustan discourse', but many of his arguments comport well with the earlier 'anti-Augustan' pole; Galinsky uses the idea of 'Augustan cultural thematics', but argues for a position that is not opposed to the earlier arguments for 'pro-Augustanism'.

[45] Cf. the influential discussion by S. E. Hinds, 'Generalising about Ovid', *Ramus* 16 (1987b), 23–9.

[46] Feeney (1991), 206–14, offers incisive observations about apotheosis in the *Metamorphoses* and how Hercules prepares for the increasingly Roman apotheoses in subsequent books of the poem; cf. P. Domenicucci, 'La caratterizzazione astrale delle apoteosi di Romolo ed Ersilia nelle Metamorfosi di Ovidio', in I. Gallo and L. Nicastri (eds), *Cultura, poesia, ideologia nell'opera di Ovidio* (Naples, 1991), 224–7; E. A. Schmidt, *Ovids Poetische Menschenwelt: Die Metamorphoses als Metapher und Symphonie*, Sitzungsbericht der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Bericht 2 (Heidelberg, 1991), 129–32; S. M. Wheeler, *Narrative Dynamics in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Tübingen, 2000), 140–1.

self-association with both Apollo and Hercules, even if he may not have actively endorsed this.[47] In the end, the allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in the Hercules episode may legitimately be read quite negatively when it comes to Augustus.

On the other hand, it should not be minimized that this allusion also admits of a more positive interpretation. One could argue that Hercules' difficult path to divinity is sanitized by the figure of Apollo, who is characterized in the *Hymn* as completely in control of his divine prerogatives. It is important to remember that Ovid is effectively supplanting one Augustan symbol (Hercules) with another (Apollo); any subversion involved in this process is thus less pointed. At the same time, Galinsky has argued that the whole Hercules episode is mainly meant to be ironic, and therefore not to be understood as serious political commentary.[48] Though I think he overstates the case, it is true that the *Metamorphoses* in general lacks the profundity that is perceived to permeate, for example, the *Aeneid*. Any political messaging inherent in Ovid's poem may be undercut by the general frivolity that others see as pervading the *Met*.

The fact that the allusion I have been exploring can yield such opposite interpretations is testament to the complexity of allusion itself, as I suggested in the first section of this chapter; such polysemy is not a foreign concept when it comes to political interpretations of Augustan poetry. I should stress that although this allusion can be read more positively than I have advocated, this does not in itself refute the negative interpretation.[49] In the end, we should remain open to the fact that these cultural factors are complicated and to insist only on the negative implications overlooks the fact that Ovid, by adapting Sophocles' *Trachiniae* to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, achieves something that is quintessentially 'Augustan'. Ovid's allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* shows that complex cultural concerns could attend the reception of the *Homeric Hymns*, just as it illustrates the *Hymns*' extra-literary influence in later antiquity.

[47] Cf. Feeney (1998), 114: 'when it came to immortality, the poets' role was . . . important, for they and Augustus knew that immortality was, in the end, out of his hands.'

[48] Galinsky (1972b).

[49] cf. Hinds (1987b), 25: 'Every passage ever written by Ovid about Augustus admits of a non-subversive reading: but that is not in itself a refutation of Ovidian subversion.' Miller (2009), in the spirit of Hinds (1987b), advocates for a middle-ground regarding this issue.

Part III

Imperial and Late Antique Literature

8

The *Homeric Hymns* Turn into Dialogues

Lucian's Dialogues of the Gods

Polyxeni Strolonga

Lucian's prose *Dialogues of the Gods*[1] consist of twenty-five miniature dialogues[2] that cover famous episodes from the lives of gods. Humorous vignettes with divine protagonists become the central focus of discussions that take place on Olympus between interlocutors who gossip about their peers. As Branham notices, 'Lucian's gods are concerned, not just occasionally but exclusively, with private matters—erotic adventures, domestic rivalries, past indiscretions, events barely on the fringe of epic.'[3]

In his representation of the Olympian Pantheon Lucian is undeniably influenced by his predecessors, especially Homer, as he transposes established divine characters of well-known myths and texts in a comical context.[4] At the same time, the *Dialogues of the Gods*, which

[1] I am using the text and numbering from M. D. Macleod, *Lucian. Vol. VII* (Cambridge, 1961).

[2] Other examples of miniature dialogues of similar character are the *Dialogues of the Sea Gods*, the *Dialogues of the Dead*, and the *Dialogues of the Courtesans*.

[3] R. B. Branham, *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 141.

[4] For literary quotation and allusion between Homer and Lucian, see F. W. Householder, *Literary Quotation and Allusion in Lucian* (New York, 1941), 18–30; O. Bouquiaux-Simon, *Les Lectures homériques de Lucien* (Brussels, 1968) *passim*. For the case of the *Dialogues of the Gods*, see Bouquiaux-Simon (1968), 379. Cf. C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge, 1986), 34: 'these [the *Dialogues of the Gods*] are in large part literary exercises in a genre that goes back as far as Homer, though an element of satire is already present.' On Lucian's critical attitude towards Homer, see A. Camerotto, *Le metamorfosi della parola. Studi sulla*

stand between philosophy and comedy, belong to an original genre developed by Lucian.[5] Through this interplay between tradition and innovation it is possible to detect some affinities with an analogous intertext, the *Homeric Hymns*. The corpus of the *Hymns*, like the *Dialogues*, comprises self-contained compositions that focus primarily on the gods' birth and their spheres of power.[6] Especially in comparison with the longer *Homeric Hymns to Demeter*, *Apollo*, *Aphrodite*, and *Hermes*, it appears that the *Dialogues of the Gods* frame the gods' relations with one another and reveal antagonistic tensions, since the gods in the course of the dialogue often reflect on the hierarchy on Olympus and the balance of divine powers.[7]

This chapter aims to explore not only thematic echoes but also stylistic and structural similarities between the *Homeric Hymns* and the *Dialogues of the Gods*. Various features, like lists of epithets and spheres of influence, narratives on previous achievements of gods, and themes of conflict and resolution abound in both the *Hymns* and the *Dialogues*. Although Lucian has a satirical perspective, he evokes, nevertheless, a similar rhetorical strategy with the *Homeric Hymns*. By recognizing the *Homeric Hymns* as one of the intertexts for the *Dialogues of the Gods* we can better contextualize Lucian's characterization of the divine. Lucian not only aims to create a comic effect or, according to some scholars, to express criticism of anthropomorphic Greek religion,[8] but also, by distorting the encomiastic tone, he

parodia in Luciano di Samosata (Pisa and Rome, 1989), 175–90. For humorous representations of gods in the *Odyssey*, see H.-G. Nesselrath, 'Myth, Parody and Comic Plots: The Birth of Gods and Middle Comedy', in G. Dobrov (ed.), *Beyond Aristophanes: Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy* (Atlanta, GA, 1995), 10–11.

[5] On the conflation of serious dialogue with comedy, see *Twice Accused* 33 and *Lit. Prom.* 6–7. On the adaptation of the Platonic dialogue by Lucian, see Branham (1989), ch. 2; R. Blondell and S. Boehringer, 'Revenge of the *Hetairistria*: The Reception of Plato's *Symposium* in Lucian's Fifth *Dialogue of the Courtesans*', *Arethusa* 47.2 (2014), 231–4. See also A. Bartley, 'Techniques of Composition in Lucian's Minor Dialogues', *Hermes* 133 (2005), 359: 'Lucian's dialogues generally represent a development of the dialogue forms of drama, philosophical discourse and bucolic verse, with the standards of genre adapted to prose when necessary.'

[6] Branham (1989), 150. On echoes of the *Homeric Hymns* in *Dialogi Marini*, see A. Bartley, *Lucian's Dialogi Marini* (Newcastle, 2009), 62 (*Hymn to Hermes*), 116 (*Hymn to Aphrodite*), 117–21 (*Hymn to Apollo*).

[7] On the politics of Olympus and the redistribution of *timai* in the major *Homeric Hymns*, see J. S. Clay, *The Politics of Olympus: Form and Meaning in the Major 'Homeric Hymns'* (Princeton, NJ, 1989), 15–16 *et passim*.

[8] On this issue, see B. Baldwin, *Studies in Lucian* (Toronto, 1973), 105; J. A. Hall, *Lucian's Satire* (New York, 1981), 200–5; F. Berdozzo, *Götter, Mythen, Philosophen:*

questions the traditional rhetoric of divine praise.[9] He thus showcases that the narratives typically employed in order to elucidate the *timai* of gods, if seen from a realistic perspective, reveal the incongruity and irrationality of divine mythology and through this paradox they lose their encomiastic effect.

In his reception of the *Homeric Hymns* Lucian employs primarily the technique of transposition according to which, as Bompaire shows, he transfers in the miniature dialogues one genre (i.e. a hymn) into another (i.e. dialogue), adapting and paraphrasing his model.[10] To this end, the original intertext is abridged or expanded.[11] The method of transposition is particularly relevant to the adaptation of dialogue scenes or episodes from the *Homeric Hymns*, a technique that was used also in *Dialogue* 21 in the case of the *Odyssey*.[12] The discussion between Hermes and Apollo (*Od*. 8.334–42) from Demodocus' song on the lay of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od*. 8. 266–366) turns into an independent dialogue where Hermes notifies Apollo of the scandalous event.[13] Demodocus' song, according to Wilamowitz, was the model for the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and could have been a separate hymn to Hephaestus in the manner of the *Homeric Hymns*.[14] The hymnic overtones, the brevity, and the humorous nature of this passage make it an appropriate model for Lucian. Moreover, Lucian

Lukian und die paganen Göttervorstellungen seiner Zeit (Berlin and Boston, 2011), 38–50. See also n. 77.

[9] Cf. the parody of encomia in the *Μυίας Ἐγκώμιον* and perhaps in the exaggerated praise rhetoric of *Πατρίδος Ἐγκώμιον*.

[10] See J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain, Imitation et Création* (Paris, 1958), 564–85. For the process of transposing hymns into dialogues, see Bompaire (1958), 575. When it comes to Homer the different levels of reception are marked according to Bouquiaux-Simon (see table at 389) by citations, adaptations, and secondary borrowings (i.e. allusions, paraphrases, and summaries). On Lucian's literary models and his technique of variation, see G. Anderson, *Lucian: Theme and Variation in the Second Sophistic* (Leiden, 1976a), 1–22.

[11] Bompaire (1958), 573, regards *DDeor.*11 as an excellent abridgement of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. H.-G. Nesselrath, 'Vom kleinen Meisterdieb zum vielgeplagten Götterboten: Hermes in den Göttergesprächen Lukians', in C. Schmitz (ed.), *Mythos im Alltag—Alltag im Mythos. Die Banalität des Alltags in unterschiedlichen literarischen Verwendungskontexten* (Munich, 2010), 155: 'der Bezug zum (4.) homerischen Hermes-Hymnos ist offensichtlich'.

[12] See Nesselrath (2010), 151–2.

[13] Lucian mentions a mime on this topic in *Dance* 63.

[14] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Hephaistos', *NGG* 1895 (repr. Berlin, 1937, 12–14). See a discussion of this issue in J. S. Clay, 'The *Homeric Hymns* as Genre', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 249–50.

reveals his technique according to which he isolates a dialogue from a hypotext and incorporates it into his own genre.

Similarly, Hermes' discussion with Maia from the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (*h.Herm.* 163–81) becomes the framework for the *Dialogue of Hermes and Maia* (4). Although the nature of the god's discontent changes, the sentiment remains the same, and Hermes in both texts protests against his low status. In the *Dialogue* he complains that he is ἄθλιος (ἔστι γάρ τις, ὦ μῆτερ, ἐν οὐρανῷ θεὸς ἀθλιώτερος ἐμοῦ, 'for is there any god in the sky, mother, more wretched than I?');[15] in the *Hymn*, that he is ἀδώρητος (taking no gifts) and ἄλιστος (inexorable; 167–9). In the *Hymn*, Hermes, responding to his mother's reproach for leaving the cave at night and stealing the cattle, expresses his frustration about their lack of honours in comparison with the other gods, and voices his desire to gain honour equal to that of Apollo; he threatens to plunder Delphi otherwise. In the *Dialogue* Hermes complains to his mother about his heavy workload and his numerous tasks that are appropriate for a slave (ἡδέως ἂν ἠξίωσα πεπρᾶσθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν γῇ κακῶς δουλεύοντες, 'I would gladly ask to be sold, like wretched slaves on earth').[16] While in the *Hymn* Hermes mentions to Maia his τέχνη of tending cattle (βουκολέων 167)[17] and threatens to exercise his art of stealing (φηληтέων ὄρχαμος 175), in the *Dialogue* Hermes covers a wide range of roles he plays, from *psychopompos* to messenger and Zeus' personal spy. The mundane nature of Hermes' *erga* in *DDeor.* 4 (e.g. sweeping the dining room, serving ambrosia and nectar) provides an exaggerated overview of the issue of rank and honours among divinities that the baby god faces in the *Hymn to Hermes*. Moreover, while Hermes in the *Hymn* is jealous of Apollo and aims to gain the same share of honour through the cattle raid, in the *Dialogue*, although he is an established god on Olympus, he still protests about the better lots of Castor, Polydeuces, Dionysus, and Heracles, whom he has to serve.[18] The degradation of Hermes'

[15] Text and translation from Macleod (1961) slightly modified.

[16] Notice the similarities between the opening lines of Hermes' speech: τί με ταῦτα δεδίσκεαι, ἠύτε τέκνον / νήπιον, ὃς μάλα παῦρα . . . οἶδεν (*h.Her.* 163–4) ~ τί μὴ λέγω, ὃς τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἔχω (*DDeor.* 4).

[17] The verb βουκολέω after Aeschylus can mean 'to cheat' or 'to beguile'. This meaning fits properly in the scene and the context of the cattle raid.

[18] D. Magini, 'Aspetti di tecnica narrativa nei Dialogi deorum e nei Dialogi marini di Luciano: estratto e sintesi', *Sileno* 22 (1996), 195, uses the *Dialogue* as an example of the narrative technique where, although there is focus on one character, other

opponents contributes to the humorous nature of the dialogue. Finally, in *DDeor*. 4 Maia is upset with Hermes' rebelliousness and advises him to accept Zeus' orders, for otherwise he may receive a whipping for dawdling; just as in the *Homeric Hymn* she reproaches Hermes for the theft of the cattle predicting that his brother will tie him up (156–9).

Other minor echoes may as well suggest Lucian's adaptation of the narrative of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. While the *Hymn to Hermes* narrates the god's achievements during the day of his birth (*ἠῶιος*, 'in the morning' (he was born) . . . *μέσωι ἤματι*, 'by midday' (he was playing the lyre) . . . *ἑσπέριος*, 'in the evening' (he stole the cattle) 17–19), Hermes in the *Dialogue* describes all his tasks in the course of every day and night (*ἕωθεν*, 'from dawn' . . . *νυκτός*, 'at night' . . . *οὐ γὰρ ἱκανά μοι τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔργα*, 'my daily tasks are not enough for me' . . . *ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νεκρικὰ συνδιαπράττειν μεμερισμένον*, 'but I also have the lot to help out with the matters of the dead'). The time frame of his workload is mentioned several times (*παρ' ἡμέραν . . . καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν*) to overemphasize the fact that Hermes' burdensome duty of tending the children of Leda, Alcmena, and Semele takes place every day incessantly. He even complains that he cannot sleep because of his trips to Hades. Through Lucian's realistic and cynical perspective the impressive deeds that Hermes performs in the short time span of one day become in the *Dialogue* a sequence of routine tasks that are repeated continually.

While Lucian is not interested in Hermes' birth, which is the focus of the introduction of the *Homeric Hymn*, he does implicitly address the status of Maia and consequently of Hermes. Hermes complains that he must serve the children of unfortunate mortal women (*ἐκ γυναικῶν δυστήνων*) even though he is the son of Maia, the daughter of Atlas.[19] Hence, while in the *Hymn* Hermes' problematic status was perhaps related to the insignificance of Maia and her illegitimate liaison with Zeus emphasized by its secrecy (5–9), in the *Dialogue* the nature of his tasks and his degraded position are not justified by his low birth, giving a rather comical tone to his situation. Branham shows as well that Lucian recasts the theme of powers where 'Hermes'

characters intrude in the narrative as they are associated by polarity. See also Magini, (1996), 188–95, for examples of one or more protagonists whose stories are complementary or analogous.

[19] Notice that in the *Hymn to Hermes* Maia does not have a patronymic (lines 1, 4).

singular role as the servant of the gods appears more as a burden than as an honour, his famous versatility the unenviable lot of an overworked slave.'[20] Here Lucian provides a sort of parody of the typical feature of long lists of epithets and spheres of powers that we find in general in the *Homeric Hymns* and especially in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (13–16).[21] Instead of contributing to his praise, the multifaceted works of Hermes who crosses spatial boundaries are compared to the heavy domestic duties of slaves.[22] Moreover, expanding his model, Lucian presents Hermes' spheres of power not by single epithets, but each task he has to perform is described in detail (e.g. tidying the dining room) including reference to well-known myths, when he mentions Zeus' lovers whom he has to spy on.

The best example of the technique of transposition, and perhaps the closest parallel to the *Homeric Hymns*, which has been thoroughly analysed recently by Vergados, is *Dialogue* 11, where Hermes' thievish activities are discussed between Hephaestus and Apollo.[23] Contrary to the *Hymn to Hermes*, in the *Dialogue* the cattle theft is omitted, Hermes steals Apollo's bow and his arrow, and the description of the construction of the lyre is more detailed.[24] In Lucian the *caduceus* is not offered to Hermes by Apollo as a gift, but is given by Hephaestus to Hermes as a toy, since the *Hymn*'s reconciliation scene where Apollo gives the caduceus is not included.[25] Vergados pointedly shows that Hermes claims on his own the role of the messenger to the Underworld since according to Maia he visits it at night in order to steal. In the *Hymn*, however, this sphere of power is granted

[20] Branham (1989), 150.

[21] L. H. Levy, *Lucian: Seventy Dialogues. Introduction and Commentary* (Norman, OK, 1977), 264, 'the basis of the complaint is the fact that, in the tradition from Homer on, Hermes is represented as one of the most versatile of the Greek gods.' Levy offers a list of traditional epithets that reflect the wide range of Hermes' powers. On lists of epithets and attributes as a feature of the *Homeric Hymns*, see R. Janko, 'The Structure of the Homeric Hymns: A Study in Genre', *Hermes* 109 (1981), 10–12.

[22] On slaves complaining about their assigned tasks, see S. D. Olson, 'Slaves and Politics in Early Aristophanic Comedy', in R. Tordoff and B. Akrigg (eds), *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comic Drama* (Cambridge, 2013), 68.

[23] A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 97–100.

[24] Nesselrath (2010), 155 argues that the audience would have expected the cattle theft and that it could take place during the discussion of the two gods.

[25] See a comparison of the two in Vergados (2013), 98–9. Magini (1996), 189, argues that the theft of the arrow echoes *h.Herm.* 514–15 but there, as Vergados notices as well, Apollo expresses only his fear about such a theft.

to Hermes (572). Also, the frustrated mother who reproaches her son for leaving the cave at night, appears also as a stock character in *DDeor.* 11, where according to Hephaestus Maia complains that Hermes does not stay in the heavens but travels at night to Hades.

To these echoes we should add another interesting twist. The *Dialogue* ends with a reference to an act of reciprocity, which is reminiscent in an amusing way of the gift exchange in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. When Hephaestus mentions that he offered the caduceus to Hermes as *παίγνιον* (toy), Apollo notices ironically that Hermes paid him back (*ἀπέδωκέ σοι τὸν μισθόν*, 'he gave back your pay') with the theft of the tongs. This imbalanced reciprocity where a gift is repaid by a theft is a comic representation of Hermes' role as the god of exchanges, which Apollo mentions in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* as a sphere of power from Zeus (*ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα*, 'works of exchange' 516). This is the role which he particularly exercises in the end of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and which is pointedly ridiculed by Lucian.

Vergados following Bompaire shows that Lucian in this dialogue abridges the original by omitting the cattle theft and expands it by turning Hermes into a kleptomaniac with a series of thefts that Hephaestus and Apollo complain about, targeting even Zeus.[26] Branham as well argues that Hermes' talent of fraud begins to resemble kleptomania, 'an involuntary tic' (*D.Deor.* 11) and 'a socially imposed role' (*D.Deor.* 4).[27] The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* apparently gives more attention to the reconciliation of the two brothers, the climax of the *pars epica*, and to the transformation of Hermes from a god of theft to a god of exchange and prophecy. In Lucian's world, however, the god's expertise in theft becomes a human flaw that is exaggerated and turned into the object of mockery. Hermes' character is stable and the threat he presents to his peers is not lifted by the end of the dialogue. In the *Hymn to Hermes*, for example, Hermes after he returns the cattle gives an oath that he will not steal from Apollo again (521–3), thus putting an end to future robberies. Hermes' role as a thief among the gods in the *Dialogue* is permanent, since such a representation of a stock character is rather comical. In this context the cattle raid is omitted because it would require some type of reconciliation between

[26] Vergados (2013), 99. The source for these thefts could be the comedy by Philiscus on Hermes' birth and childhood, according to Nesselrath (2010), 155.

[27] Branham (1989), 150.

the two brothers, which would be of a serious nature. Lucian thus reinvents a familiar myth and echoes textual antecedents only to contradict the audience's expectations.[28]

Another example of the technique of transposition can also be detected in the *Dialogue of Aphrodite and Eros* (23). Aphrodite's excessive power over desire and her impact on gods in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* are attributed to Eros by Lucian. Nevertheless, in both the *Hymn* and the *Dialogue* Aphrodite is a victim of desire. While in the *Hymn* she faces the consequences of her own power through the punishment of Zeus, who makes her fall for Anchises, in the *Dialogue*—through a rationalized approach to this theme—Aphrodite is a victim of the personified Eros.[29] In the *Hymn*, Aphrodite controls all living beings except for three virgin goddesses, Athena, Artemis, and Hestia, who find no interest in her *erga* (7–35).[30] In the *Dialogue of Aphrodite and Eros* Aphrodite complains to her son that despite his impact on her and other gods he is unable to inspire desire in Athena, the Muses, and Artemis.[31] While in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* the exceptions prove the rule and reveal her omnipotence, in Lucian they humorously indicate the insufficiencies of Eros who exercises his power unsuccessfully,[32] since he is afraid of Athena, he reveres the Muses, and he cannot take hold of Artemis who always escapes. Also in the *Hymn* the reasoning for the

[28] In his discussion of *DDeor*. 11 Branham (1989), 149, notices: 'Classical antecedents are recalled only to be miniaturized and domesticated; obvious continuities are used to mark comic discrepancies. Our own generic expectations become the leitmotif of the *Dialogues*' humor.'

[29] Eros as a love god is established in cult in the fourth century BC, while such a role is evidenced in literature since the sixth century BC. See B. Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros. The Development of Erotic Mythology in Early Greek Poetry and Cult* (New York, 2007), 141. The image of Eros as the annoying and deceitful child is Hellenistic and Roman according to Bompaire (1958), 576.

[30] On this passage, see A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008), 83; S. D. Olson, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and Related Texts* (Berlin, 2012), 134; P. Strolonga, 'Aphrodite against Athena, Artemis, and Hestia: A Contest of *erga*', *ICS* 37 (2012). Cf. the contrast between Athena and Aphrodite at the beginning of Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*. See the discussion of Callimachus' allusion to the *Hymn to Aphrodite* in A. Faulkner, 'The Collection of *Homeric Hymns*: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011c), 191–3.

[31] Levy (1977), 295 notices that Lucian adapts this passage from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and replaces Hestia with Muses because he could explain 'more easily' the Muses' escape from Eros due to their modesty and their concern for songs.

[32] Aphrodite calls him ἄτοξος (without a bow), ἄστοχος (missing the target).

goddesses' virginity is their preference for other than the erotic *erga* (lines 9–10 Athena *οὐ γάρ οἱ εὔαδεν ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης | ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον Ἄρηος*, 'for she does not like the works of Aphrodite, rich in gold: but wars and the work of Ares give pleasure to her'; line 21 Hestia *οὐδὲ μὲν αἰδοίῃ κούρῃ ἄδεν ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης*, 'nor yet do the works of Aphrodite give delight to the modest maiden').[33] This is implied in Lucian when Eros notices that Artemis holds a special desire for hunting (*καὶ ἴδιόν τινα ἔρωτα ἤδη ἐρᾷ*, 'and she already holds some distinct desire', cf. *h.Aphr.* 18–20). Similarly, the Muses are concerned with another field, singing (*ἀεί τι φροντίζουσιν καὶ περὶ ᾠδὴν ἔχουσι*, 'they always ponder something or they are busy with music').[34] The virgin goddesses in both texts carry their own agency as they neglect love and focus on other interests, which represent their sphere of powers. While Aphrodite cannot tame (*δάμναται* 17) Artemis in *philotes*, Eros cannot literally seize (*καταλαμβάνω*) the always-fleeing Artemis (*τὸ μὲν ὅλον οὐδὲ καταλαβεῖν αὐτὴν οἷόν τε φεύγουσαν ἀεὶ διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν*, 'in general it is impossible to capture her as she always flees across the mountains'); both verbs reflect the violence of desire. Lucian also provides a rational reason for Artemis' escape of love: the fact that Eros has inflicted it upon her brother Apollo several times. In the case of Athena, Eros' failure is explained by her fearful appearance and the threat she poses to him. Athena is not concerned with other activities like the other virgin goddesses. Similarly, in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* Hestia's rejection of love is not explained by her preference of other pursuits but by the honour that Zeus offered her that she will remain virgin. Overall the *Dialogue* is an example of what Anna Petersen has shown as Lucian's reworking of earlier tradition into something new, beyond simply quoting earlier authors.[35]

The *Dialogue of Zeus and Ganymede* (*DDeor.* 10) displays not only the technique of transposition but also the technique of asking further questions about a known myth,[36] or 'the technique of literalisation, of

[33] Translation from M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, MA, 2003) slightly modified.

[34] Cf. *DDeor.* 17 *περὶ τὸν Ἄρη ἔχει τὰ πολλά* (*sc.* Aphrodite). According to Levy (1977), 296, the choice of words in *DDeor.* 23 is not accidental and echoes *DDeor.* 17.

[35] A. Petersen, 'Chewing the Fat: Lucian's Invention of the Comic Dialogue', in M. Çevik (ed.), *International Symposium on Lucianus of Samosata* (Adıyaman, 2008), 64.

[36] Branham (1989), 143: 'Each dialogue consists of an imagined response to a known event or set of facts; the event or facts are mythic, the gods' responses Lucianic.' See also R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog: ein literarhistorischer Versuch* (Leipzig, 1895), vol. 2, 295.

following common stories and images to their logical conclusions, imagining what things would really be like if the stories were true'.[37] This dialogue seems to be a response to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* since Lucian gives a voice to Ganymede, who in the *Hymn* is the silent victim of Zeus. While scholars have debated whether Ganymede's immortality is a positive or a negative state in the *Hymn*,[38] it seems that Aphrodite uses Ganymede and Tithonus as negative *exempla* to elucidate the consequences of transferring the beloved to Olympus and justify her decision to leave Anchises on earth. Similarly, Ganymede in the *Dialogue* expresses all the negative complications of his abandonment of the mortal world. For example, he complains that he will have no one to play with. Tros, who suffers in the *Hymn* due to his son's disappearance until Zeus' gift of immortal horses as ἄποινα (207–11), is also mentioned in the *Dialogue of Zeus and Ganymede*, but the reasoning for his sorrow is perhaps more humorous; Ganymede tells Zeus that his father will look for him because he will be upset for abandoning his flock[39]—a pragmatic reaction to his absence based on the logistics of the agricultural life. Ganymede then promises Zeus the sacrifice of a ram as λύτρα, a term closer to ἄποινα in the *Hymn* (*h.Aphr.* 210) than to ποινή in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 5.265–6), both employed to denote Zeus' gift of the immortal horses.[40] The degradation of the offer from immortal horses to a ram, and from a gift by Zeus to an offering by Tros, contributes to the humour of the scene and perhaps reflects the pastoral sentiment of the narrative.[41] While the ignorance of the naïve Ganymede,[42] who cannot understand the reason for his

[37] J. P. König, *Greek Literature in the Roman Empire* (Bristol, 2009), 38.

[38] Clay (1989), 185–7, refers to Tros' joy after the compensation to suggest that the gift of immortality has positive connotations. *Contra* P. Smith, *Nursling of Mortality: A Study of the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Frankfurt, Bern, and Cirencester, 1981), 72–7.

[39] On similarities with pastoral literature and Longus, see G. Anderson, *Studies in Lucian's Comic Fiction* (Leiden, 1976b), 85. Anderson notices that 'the young innocent thinks about love only in terms of the pastures'.

[40] Suda *A* 3716 s.v. ἄποινα= λύτρα ἃ δίδωσί τις ὑπὲρ φόνου ἢ σώματος. οὕτως Σόλων ἐν νόμοις (ransom = payments, which someone gives for a murder *or* for a body. Thus in Solon's laws).

[41] Note that in Homer Tros' reaction to the abduction of his son is not explicit (only implied in the term ποινή) since more emphasis is placed on the horses themselves.

[42] His erotic relationship with Zeus is not explicitly mentioned in the *Hymn*, but it is implied, particularly because Ganymede is abducted because of his beauty. See J. van Eck, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Diss., Utrecht, 1978), 74; Faulkner (2008),

abduction, offers a comic perspective to the storyline, Lucian also acknowledges the absurdity of the anomaly of a human's immortalization and transposition to Olympus. This absurdity, which is not mentioned in the Homeric epics, extenuates the sentiment in Aphrodite's narration of the abduction of Ganymede and switches the focus from the consequences on Tros, which are emphasized in the *Hymn*, to the effects on Ganymede himself in the *Dialogue*.

Similarly, the *Dialogue of Pan and Hermes* offers a realistic response to the *Homeric Hymn to Pan*[43] according to the technique of literalization and provides a criticism of the idealized form of parenthood that the *Hymn* presents, albeit the absurdity of the child's appearance. Although both texts include a narrative on the birth of Pan, Lucian provides a comic twist to Hermes' fatherhood since, in contrast to the proud father in the *Hymn* who presents his son to Zeus and the rest of the Olympians (despite his mother's fright at the first sight of the monstrous baby), Lucian's Hermes is initially sceptical about accepting Pan as his son and, when he is reminded that he impregnated his mother while disguised as a goat, he still considers the shame he will face as a father.[44] The *Hymn* ends with the scene of joy of Hermes and the Olympians, but the *Dialogue* concludes with Hermes' request that Pan does not call him 'father' in public. The fact that he opposes the public declaration of his paternity contrasts with Hermes' display of his offspring on Olympus and invites the audience to reflect on the absurdity of Hermes as a proud father of Pan in the *Homeric Hymn*.

A list of spheres of power also appears in the *Dialogue of Pan and Hermes*. After Pan convinces Hermes that he is his son, he provides a list of all of his works and roles as a musician, a companion to Dionysus, a pastor, a ruler of Arcadia, and an assistant to the Athenians in Marathon, for which he received a cave under the acropolis. Pan's self-representation is reminiscent of a short *Homeric Hymn*, and it obviously aims at self-praise; nevertheless, it does not achieve

262–3. Cf. *Il.* 20.232–5, where the gods snatch Ganymede to make him the cupbearer because of his beauty, again without a reference to the affair with Zeus. In Lucian, however, it is quite explicit since Zeus announces that he abducted Ganymede in order to sleep with him (*διὰ τοῦτό σε ἀνήρπασα, ὡς ἅμα καθεύδοιμεν*).

[43] Nesselrath (2010), 157–8.

[44] Branham (1989), 152–4; Nesselrath (1995), 6. Lucian mentions Penelope as the mother of Pan following Herodotus while the *Hymn* employs the daughter of Dryops as his mother.

its encomiastic goal, since Hermes is more concerned about Pan's appearance than his *erga*.[45]

In addition to individual scenes through the techniques of transposition and literalization and the hymnic feature of lists of spheres of power, certain themes that relate to the hierarchy of gods in the *Homeric Hymns* are found in the *Dialogues*. For example, a prominent topic is the balance among divine powers, and especially the impact of one god's expertise on his peers. In *DDeor*. 11 Hermes' art of stealing has negative effects on both Apollo and Hephaestus (not just Apollo, as is the case in the *Hymn to Hermes*), who lose items that mark their own spheres of power: bow, arrows, and tongs. This theme dominates the *Homeric Hymns*. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the goddess controls all gods by inspiring desire for mortal women; in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* the god terrifies with his bow the assembly of gods; in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Hermes steals the cattle of Apollo; and in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* the goddess' exercising of her power over the fertility of the land impedes the mortals' sacrifices to the gods (310–13, 353–4). The problematic aspects of a god's sphere of power and the fragile balance among different types of expertise are illustrated in *DDeor*. 22, where Dionysus' *erga* are described in a positive way by Zeus and in a negative way by Hera. This common issue in Greek myth—that the range of one god's power may diminish another god's honour, that is, the rivalry of *timai*—becomes for Lucian an opportunity for parody.[46]

The common theme of divine births, which is found in the major and shorter *Homeric Hymns*, shapes also the narrative of *Dialogues* 2, 12, and 13. The *Dialogue of Poseidon and Hermes* focuses on the birth of Dionysus, the *Dialogue of Hephaestus and Zeus* on the birth of Athena, and the already mentioned *Dialogue of Hermes and Pan* on the birth of Pan.[47] Lucian prefers the bizarre, miraculous, and

[45] Usually such self-representations by gods who announce their spheres of power take place at epiphanies or at the god's birth. Occasionally they are found in narratives where a god facing ungodlike situations needs to prove himself as in Pan's confrontation of his father. This is also the case of Hermes' speech to his mother Maia in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* or of Apollo in his pursuit of Daphne in Ovid *Met*. 1.

[46] See Camerotto (1989), 191–2 on how Lucian in the case of parody can be influenced both by the original model and by its imitation.

[47] The *Hymn to Pan* and *Dialogue* 2 show according to Nesselrath (1995), 6, how two plays of middle comedy by Philiscus (*PCG* Vol. 7 p. 357) and Araros (*PCG* frs. 13–15 Vol. 2 p. 529) on the same topic, the birth of Pan, could proceed with different storylines.

impossible births that presumably would praise the omnipotence of Zeus as a begetter, but also point comically or critically to the irrationality of such a portrayal. The miraculous birth of Athena and Dionysus from parts of Zeus' body, and the image of Zeus as a begetter, are an appropriate topic for comedy, as fragments of the γοναὶ θεῶν (births of gods) in post-Aristophanic comedy indicate.[48] While it cannot be argued that these comedies on the birth of gods stem from the *Homeric Hymns*—after all they may play on hymnic conventions in general—the fact that the *Hymns* deal with the same topic from a more solemn perspective, yet with some comic elements,[49] shows at an early stage the potential for treating the theme of a god's birth comically.

An analogy between the *Dialogues* and the *Homeric Hymns* lies in their preoccupation with familial relationships, especially the relationship between Hermes and his brother Apollo, which is the focus of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and four of the *Dialogues of the Gods*. The comical dialogue scene in the *Hymn* (*h.Herm*. 254–303) after the cattle raid, where Hermes denies his brother's accusations, and the final reconciliation with the gift exchange are in contrast to the amicable and frivolous conversations between the two siblings in the *Dialogues* (*DDeor*. 16, 17, 21, and 25). Considering that in the *Hymn to Hermes* Apollo, the older and wiser sibling, is at odds with a younger and foolish one, the harmonious relationship between Apollo and Hermes in Lucian is a surprising twist that could cause laughter, especially if the audience had in mind the confrontation between the two brothers in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* or the standard narrative motif of the feud between brothers (e.g. Eteocles and Polyneikes).[50]

Moreover, Lucian portrays Hermes as a superior character to Apollo. In *Dialogue* 21 Hermes narrates the lay of Ares and Aphrodite,

[48] Nesselrath (1995), 1–12. Birth stories were appropriate for the comic stage as some titles and fragments of middle comedies suggest, e.g. Ἀφροδίτης γοναί by Philiscus (*PCG* Vol. 7 p. 357), Polyzelus (*PCG* Vol. 7 p. 553), Nicophron (*PCG* frr. 1–5 Vol. 7), and Antiphanes (*PCG* fr. 57 Vol. 2 pp. 341–2); Μουσῶν γοναὶ by Polyzelus (*PCG* frr. 8–11 Vol. 7 p. 557); Διονύσου γοναί by Polyzelus (*PCG* frr. 6–7 Vol. 7 p. 556), Demetrius I (*PCG* Vol. 5 p. 243), and Anaxandrides (*PCG* Vol. 2 p. 243); two plays on the birth of Pan by Philiscus (*PCG* Vol. 7 p. 357) and Araros (*PCG* frr. 13–15 Vol. 2 p. 529). All fragments from plays on γοναὶ θεῶν are discussed by Nesselrath (1995).

[49] The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* could provide the storyline for a comedy on this topic. See Nesselrath (1995), 4.

[50] Hermes appears in twelve out of twenty-five dialogues.

which is the topic of Demodocus' song (*Od.* 8.266–366).[51] In Lucian's version Hermes describes the entrapment of Ares and Aphrodite by Hephaestus to Apollo, who does not witness the event and thus appears ignorant to his brother. In accordance with the Homeric model in Lucian's dialogue Hermes is again envious of Ares and he admits that he would gladly be in his position. *Dialogue* 25 focuses on the spheres of power of Castor and Polydeukes, whom Apollo cannot distinguish from each other and whose functions are questioned. Hermes helps his brother to comprehend the assignments of honours on Olympus. In *Dialogue* 16 Hermes even consoles Apollo, who is saddened by the death of Hyacinthus and gives sound advice, that, since Apollo fell in love with a mortal, he should anticipate his death. In the same amicable atmosphere the two brothers discuss their lack of lovers in *Dialogue* 17 where Hermes complains about Hephaestus' erotic successes despite his ugliness.[52] This type of Hermes, who is more knowledgeable than his older brother despite the latter's prophetic skills,[53] a Hermes who behaves with compassion towards Apollo, contrasts with the annoying younger brother in the *Hymn* but also in some other *Dialogues* where Hermes acts as a complaining child and a nuisance to his peers.[54] This is the case in the *Dialogue of Hermes and Maia* (4) and the *Dialogue of Hephaestus and Apollo* (11). Lucian appears to be flexible in the manner he employs mythical material about the personalities of the gods. He either reflects mythical stereotypes about Hermes as a child or he overturns the audience's expectations as for example when a mature Hermes interacts with Apollo.

Overall, Lucian displays narrative tendencies similar to those in the *Homeric Hymns*, and occasionally relies on similar thematic material or even sections from the *Homeric Hymns*. It appears that Lucian is familiar with the standard topics of the hymnic narratives and he adapts them to his own genre.

[51] See Branham (1989), 145–7; Nesselrath (2010), 155–6. *DDeor.* 1 draws from H. *Il.* 1.396ff. and 8.17–27, *DDeor.* 17 from *Od.* 8.266ff.

[52] This is a topic that Lucian is particularly engaged with. That is the disparity between *μορφή* and *ἐπιτηδεύματα*. See *Dialogue of Apollo and Dionysus* (3).

[53] In the *Hymn to Hermes* it is also comical that Apollo has difficulties finding the culprit of the theft.

[54] Nesselrath (2010), 151–7, distinguishes Hermes in the dialogues where he shows up as a youngster, Zeus' assistant (e.g. *DDeor.* 4), and those where he appears to be of the same age as Apollo. In the latter group the two gods are like teenagers discussing every possible topic, including erotic ones (157).

The *Dialogues of the Gods* also bear some similarities with the four longer *Hymns* in terms of style and structure. Each dialogue forms a coherent whole with a beginning, a middle, and an end.[55] The openings and the closures are marked by some formulaic language,[56] and a narrative component (*pars epica*) is also present despite the discourse format. The *Dialogues* open with a question that presents the topic of the discussion or the god who will be its subject.[57] The first dialogue between Ares and Hermes starts with a question (ἤκουσας; 'did you hear?') that introduces the topic in the accusative and the name of the god who is talked about: οἷα ἠπείλησεν ἡμῖν ὁ Ζεύς, 'what Zeus has threatened' (cf. *DDeor.* 24 οἷα πεποίηκας; 'what have you done?').[58] In the *Dialogues* just like the *Homeric Hymns*, the name of the god to be discussed is mentioned very early, often as the first word and in the accusative (*DDeor.* 3 τί ἂν λέγοιμεν; ὁμομητρίους ἀδελφούς . . . ἀνομοιοτάτους εἶναι τὰς μορφὰς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, 'what should we say? that the brothers who have the same mother . . . are different in appearance and habits?'; *DDeor.* 7 Τὴν τοῦ Ἰνάχου παῖδα τὴν καλὴν οἶσθα, 'do you know the beautiful daughter of Inachus?'; *DDeor.* 8 ἐξ οὗ τὸ μειράκιον . . . ἀνήγαγες, 'since you brought this youngster', i.e. Ganymede).[59] *Dialogues* usually open with an imperative that presents the context of a controversy (*DDeor.* 10 ἄγε, ὦ Γανύμηδες . . . φίλησόν με, 'come on Ganymede . . . kiss me'). The *Dialogue of Zeus and Prometheus*, for example, pointedly begins

[55] Branham (1989), 143: 'Each conversation coheres as a unit, in Aristotle's sense, with a beginning, middle and end, which, far from surprising us with a punch line or unexpected (*para prosdokian*) ending, usually serves to return us to the beginning.' On the structure of the *Homeric Hymns*, see Janko (1981).

[56] The markers for the beginnings and the endings of the *Dialogues* point to public reading. See J. Ureña Bracero, *El dialogo de Luciano: Ejecucion, naturaleza, y procedimientos de humor* (Amsterdam, 1995), 86. For examples of formulas in the closures of short dialogues (not only the *Dialogues of the Gods*), see Ureña Bracero (1995), 90–2. For the cultic nature of formulas in the openings and endings in the *Homeric Hymns*, see F. Létoublon, 'Commencer à chanter', in R. Bouchon (ed.), *Hymnes de la Grèce antique. Approches littéraires et historiques. Actes du colloque international de Lyon, 19–21 juin 2008* (Lyon, 2013).

[57] e.g. *DDeor.* 1 did you hear Zeus' threats?; *DDeor.* 3 are not Eros, Priapus, and Hermaphroditus different in appearance and habits?; *DDeor.* 4 is there a god more miserable than I?; *DDeor.* 5 do you know the daughter of Inachos?

[58] Cf. the opening of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* where the names of the goddesses and the topic of the hymn are mentioned in the first three lines.

[59] For this feature of the *Homeric Hymns*, see Janko (1981), 9. In the *Dialogues* there is a delay in naming one of the interlocutors, or his name is never mentioned. See examples and discussion of this technique in Ureña Bracero (1995), 91–5.

with the imperative: 'release me!' (*DDeor.* 5 *λῦσόν με*). The opening in this and other cases implies that the speakers are in the middle of a conversation (e.g. *DDeor.* 6 and 17) and continue the discussion of a topic that was introduced earlier—a common practice of Lucian and a feature in the Platonic dialogues.[60]

The gods' controversies are often mentioned in the openings of the *Dialogues*: Zeus' threats to other gods (*DDeor.* 1), Hermes' thefts (*DDeor.* 11), Hera's complaints to Zeus about Ganymede and Ixion (*DDeor.* 8 and 9). The major *Homeric Hymns* also start with a conflict: Aphrodite's excessive power over her peers (*h.Aphr.*), Hermes' illegitimate status and cunning activities (*h.Herm.*), Apollo's threatening entrance into the assembly of the gods (*h.Ap.*), Persephone's abduction (*h.Dem.*). The resolution of the strife usually marks the end of the dialogue. The *Dialogue of Zeus and Prometheus* ends with the imperative *λυσάτω* responding to the opening *λῦσον*. Zeus forgives Prometheus after the revelation of his secret. In this dialogue, resolution comes through reciprocity and exchange,[61] as the case is for example between Demeter and Zeus/Hades in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and between Hermes and Apollo in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. This movement from strife to reconciliation is an important key element in both the *Homeric Hymns* and the *Dialogues of the Gods*.

Despite the dialogue format, Lucian retains the *Er-Stil* narrative that is so prominent in the *Homeric Hymns*[62] and devotes a short monologue to one of the two interlocutors, a type of *pars epica* that provides a series of a god's *ἐπιτηδεύματα* (habits)/*ἔργα* (deeds). The shortness of each god's speech (usually a couple of sentences long) contrasts with the long uninterrupted narration of a god's *erga*. Lucian echoes the *Homeric Hymns* even more closely in *Charon* 1, where Charon, in his dialogue with Hermes, requests not to be abandoned by the god during his trip on earth and concludes his request with the phrase *ἀλλὰ δός, ὦ Κυλλήνιέ, μοι ἐς ἀεὶ μεμνησομένῳ τὴν χάριν* ('but do me this favour, Cyllenian, so that I will always

[60] Hall (1981), 134.

[61] *καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀμισθί με λύσεις, ἀλλά σοι μηνύσω τι, ὦ Ζεῦ, πάνυ ἀναγκαῖον*, 'and indeed you will not release me without a reward, but Zeus, I will reveal to you some very necessary information'. Cf. *h.Herm.* 264 *οὐκ ἂν μηνύσαιμ', οὐκ ἂν μήνυτρον ἀροίμην*, 'I would not reveal it and I would not take a reward for the information'.

[62] For the *Er-Stil* and *Du-Stil* types, see E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1916), 143–66.

remember it').[63] Here, the imperative, along with a form of the verb of remembrance and a reference to *charis*, constitutes a parody of the closings of prayers and most of the *Homeric Hymns*. For example the longer *Homeric Hymns to Demeter*, *Apollo*, and *Hermes*, like many of the shorter *Homeric Hymns* (*h.Hom.* 6, 10, 19, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33), are concluded by the formulaic line *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς* ('and I will remember you and another song') following the imperative *χαῖρε* (rejoice).[64]

All these parallels do not, of course, imply a direct borrowing from the *Homeric Hymns*, but I hope to have pointed to some tendencies in Lucian's structural organization of his narrative that echo similar aspects of the *Hymns*.[65] Moreover, in the context of Lucian's *Gattungsmischung*, a variety of genres from New Comedy to Greek *epyllion* are echoed in the *Dialogues*.[66] Other works by Lucian may also give a glimpse of the pastiche of genres we see in the *Dialogues of the Gods*. Jones, for example, notices in his discussion of Lucian's *Defence of the Portraits* that 'dialogue as a vehicle for encomium seems to have had its origin among the Socratics, and Lucian's immediate model may well have been the *Aspasia* of Aeschines Socraticus, in which (as in Lucian[67]) Aspasia was talked of in her absence and specimens of her wisdom were cited'.[68] Lucian expands the scope of dialogues as not only philosophical discourses with elements borrowed from comedy but also as vehicles of praise. The

[63] Ureña Bracero (1995), 154–6.

[64] On this closing formula, see N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 324–5; Vergados (2013), 586.

[65] It is also interesting that, just like the major *Homeric Hymns* are the outcome of the extension of the shorter *Hymns* (or vice versa), Lucian appears to derive some of his shorter dialogues from larger ones. See examples in Ureña Bracero (1995), 87.

[66] Bartley (2009), 6 notices that 'the *Dialogi Marini* could just as well represent the first attempt at brief divine comedy, upon which Lucian later elaborates in the *Dialogi Deorum*, as a later refinement of the other longer collection.' On divine comedy, see Berdozzo (2011), 24–5. Branham (1989), 158: 'the literary use of the gods in Lucian is much like the use of type characters in farce and other highly stylized forms of comedy.' On satiric drama and the *Dialogues*, see Bompaire (1958), 567–9; Anderson (1976a), 100–2. On lexical parallels in the *DDeor.* and tragedy, see O. Karavas, *Lucien et la tragedie* (Berlin and New York, 2005), 92, 106, 117, 183, 198–9. On the miniature dialogues and Hellenistic poetry, see Bompaire (1958), 571–8. On the connection of the *Homeric Hymns* to *epyllia*, see I. Petrovic, 'Rhapsodic Hymns and Epyllia', in M. Baumbach and S. Bär (eds), *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Epyllion and Its Reception* (Leiden, 2012).

[67] Pantheia's modesty was praised in the *Defence of the Portraits*.

[68] Jones (1986), 77.

Dialogues of the Gods, although they display aspects of the traditional encomiastic narratives (e.g. previous achievements, place of the gods in hierarchical order, etc.), at the same time have the opposite effect, since the same features, instead of contributing to the praise of gods, reveal the incongruity of their spheres of power, causing laughter.

Lucian manages to blend the rhetoric of hymns with the absurdity of the narrative itself: for example, Zeus' transformations into animals (*DDeor*. 6), Selene's abandonment of her course for visiting a mortal (*DDeor*. 19). As Branham argues, there is an incongruity between the prestigious gods as they are established in other genres on the one hand and the situations they find themselves in on the other.[69] Thus 'the dialogues are structured as a series of descending incongruities that parody the stylization and generic logic of their mythological antecedents rather than specific texts or concepts'.[70] Such incongruity, however, can also be reflected in the poetic incompatibility of the hymnic generic features and the grotesque, comic nature of the narrative matter. Like the *Homeric Hymns*, the *Dialogues of the Gods* aim to define the anthropomorphic gods of Greek religion, albeit in a new genre and in a new historical context. To this end, the short narrative components on gods' adventures display the divine spheres of power that are well known to the audience through (among other models) hymnic narratives,[71] even as they reveal their absurdity. Considering that his audience could have been familiar not only with the epic tradition,[72] or at least with the myths contained within,[73] but also

[69] Branham (1989), 157: 'The parodic contrast [with the stylization of the older genres] directs our attention not to the gods per se, still less to theology, but to the language of heroization, the artifice of elevation that the high genres, especially epic, perfected for producing their particular forms of illusion.'

[70] Branham (1989), 154.

[71] That the audience could be familiar with the *Homeric Hymns* cannot be argued with certainty, but Lucian himself implies in his works that his readers were in fact πεπαιδευμένοι. See K. Ní Mheallaigh, *Reading Fiction with Lucian: Fakes, Freaks and Hyperreality* (Cambridge, 2014), 147–8. In *True Stories* 1.2 Lucian expects that the readers would figure out the poets he criticizes without naming them.

[72] Bartley (2009), 5, argues that Lucian's minor dialogues belong to a category of his works which 'are far more literary in nature, satirizing the norms of the popular, philosophical and technical literature of the time'. Lucian's style in these works is 'strongly dependent on the learning of the reader, as many of the most striking features of these works draw on wide range of works at once'. On Lucian's audience of *pepaideumenoi*, see Camerotto (1989), 270–4.

[73] Hall (1981), 198, notices: 'no educated person in Lucian's day took the myths literally. Even the most religious and superstitious of the philosophical sects rejected them.'

with the *Homeric Hymns*, it is not unlikely that the *Dialogues* provide a parody of both the gods and the *Hymns* that praise them. Lucian, 'the religious satirist', not only as Hall mentions,[74] 'brings before his audience the absurdities of the traditional stories about the gods', but he also challenges the encomiastic strategy of the *Homeric Hymns* where the episodes from the gods' lives address both their spheres of power and their relation to the other gods.[75] Therefore, what is praiseworthy in the hymnic narrative concerning the gods is laughable in Lucian.[76]

This comic view of the Greek pantheon could aim at entertainment or it could express a criticism of the gods.[77] Macleod notes that 'Lucian's primary purpose . . . in this collection would seem to be to amuse, and in this he is brilliantly successful. Nevertheless Lucian's "reductio ad absurdum" of Homer's Olympians is a no less effective criticism than the more serious strictures of Xenophanes and Plato.'[78] The topic is controversial and beyond the scope of this chapter, but Lucian's employment of hymnic practices and his adaptation of certain scenes and generic strategies from the *Homeric Hymns* imply perhaps that Lucian parodies not only the gods themselves

[74] Hall (1981), 196–7.

[75] Branham (1989), 143: 'His subject is the implicit dimension of tradition, the curious and comic paradoxes the old myths generate if reimagined as literally true.'

[76] For a laughable Zeus, see Ares' comment in *DDeor*. 1 *ταῦτα λογιζομένῳ ἐπήει μοι γελᾶν ἐπὶ τῇ καλλιρρημοσύνῃ αὐτοῦ*, 'when I thought of that (i.e. the gods' plan to tie up Zeus), I had to laugh at his (Zeus') fine talk' (i.e. his threats).

[77] On Lucian's cynical view of gods, especially Zeus, see Berdozzo (2011), 35–48. Similarly, I. S. Gilhus, *Laughing Gods, Weeping Virgins: Laughter in the History of Religion* (London, 1997), 48–51. For M. Croiset, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Lucien* (Paris, 1882), 215, the *Dialogues of the Gods* constitute a genre of reflection on gods through the means of amusement. Branham (1989), 161, argues for a comic tone in relation to Greek religion rather than 'tendentious or polemical'. See also Bartley (2005), 359–60; Nesselrath (2010), 159. *Contra* Berdozzo (2011), 48–50. B. Papaioannou, *Ο μεγάλος σατιρικός της Αρχαιότητας* (Thessaloniki, 1976), 117–18, suggests that the *Dialogues* are both a mockery of gods that reflects the loss of prestige of the ancient religion and a type of comedy. According to M. Caster, *Lucien et la pensée religeuse de son tempe* (Paris, 1937) Lucian was an atheist. On Lucian's attitude to gods, see W. M. Dickie, 'Lucian's Gods: Lucian's Understanding of the Divine', in J. N. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds), *The Gods of Ancient Greece: Identities and Transformations* (Edinburgh, 2010). Dickie (350) notices that 'it is . . . tempting to imagine that behind the repeated assaults made in Lucian on the view of the divine to be derived from Homer lies a more sophisticated and refined vision of the nature of the gods. But if Lucian had such a view, he gives at best only hints of what it is . . . He was not after all, a philosopher, let alone a systematic theologian.'

[78] Macleod (1961), 239.

and the stories about them, but also the praise rhetoric that is evident in the *Hymns*, from the list of epithets to the gods' placement in the hierarchical order of the divine cosmos. Lucian transforms the *Hymns* into comic dialogues, crafts a burlesque of the traditional way of depicting gods through narratives and situations which expose the gods' human flaws, including the absurdities of their anthropomorphism, and highlights the paradox of praising such imperfections.

9

The Reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Aelius Aristides

Athanassios Vergados

In this chapter I discuss the evidence which suggests that Aelius Aristides knew the *Homeric Hymns*. My primary focus lies on Aristides' prose *Hymns* (*Or.* 37–46 Keil), which Menander Rhetor calls μαντευτοί.[1] I will begin with instances in which the case for allusion is not easy to prove with absolute certainty (*Or.* 41.8, 46.14, 41.6) and then proceed to discuss passages in Aristides' *Hymns* in which the reference to the *Homeric Hymns* may be deemed more certain. In the second part of this chapter I will examine the references to *h.Ap.* in two other orations, *Or.* 28 περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος ('On a remark made in passing') and 34 κατὰ τῶν ἐξορχουμένων ('Against those who profane the mysteries [of rhetoric]'[2]) and Aristides' use of the term *prooimion*.

[1] III p. 334.2 Spengel, p. 8 R–W. For these *Hymns*, see D. A. Russell, 'Aristides and the Prose Hymn', in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature* (Oxford, 1990), and most recently J. Goeken, *Aelius Aristide et la rhétorique de l'hymne en prose* (Turnhout, 2012); J. Downie, *At the Limits of Art. A Literary Study of Aelius Aristides*' Hieroi Logoi (Oxford, 2013), 127–54; and O. Hodkinson, 'Narrative Technique and Generic Hybridity in Aelius Aristides' Prose *Hymns*', in A. Faulkner and O. Hodkinson (eds), *Hymnic Narrative and the Narratology of Greek Hymns* (Leiden and Boston, 2015) for a narratological analysis of Aristides' prose *Hymns*. On the relative chronology of the prose *Hymns* see also J. Mesk, 'Zu den Prosa- und Vershymnen des Aelius Aristides', in A. Gemelli (ed.), *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino* (Milan, 1927), 660–8. Finally, J. M. Bremer, 'Menander Rhetor on Hymns', in J. G. J. Abbenes, S. R. Slings, and I. Sluiter (eds), *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle. A Collection of Papers in Honour of D. M. Schenkeveld* (Amsterdam, 1995) discusses Menander Rhetor's ideas on hymns.

[2] For the meaning of ἐξορχεῖσθαι, see A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au IIe siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1923), 266 n. 1.

ARISTIDES' PROSE *HYMNS*

Or. 41.8

A general reference to the story told in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (7) may be found in *Or.* 41.8 (to Dionysus):[3]

> Ἰνδοὺς δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς λέγουσιν ὡς κατεστρέψατο, αἰνιττόμενοι δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ διὰ μὲν τῶν Τυρηννῶν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων τὸν πρὸς ἕω τόπον τῆς γῆς, ὡς ἁπάσης αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα.
>
> And they say that he vanquished the Indians and the Tyrrhenians, implying, it seems to me, by Tyrrhenians the parts in the west, while by the others [*sc.* the Indians] the eastern parts of the earth, on the grounds that he [*sc.* Dionysus] is the ruler of the entire earth.

The *Homeric Hymn* tells of the Tyrrhenian pirates who once kidnapped Dionysus, thinking that he was a prince for whom they might receive ransom. It is possible (but only *possible*) that Aristides interprets this story as implying that Dionysus has conquered the entire world. As Uerschels points out,[4] in later times Dionysus' victory over the Tyrrhenian pirates had been reimagined as a naval campaign against the Tyrrhenians,[5] which makes it possible that Aristides was following such a later version rather than (or in addition to) *h.Hom.* 7.

Or. 46.14

An equally general reference to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* may lurk in *Or.* 46.14 (to Poseidon):

> καὶ τούτων μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰκότως ἂν χάριν αὐτῷ εἰδείη ὅτι οὔτε τὴν Λητὼ περιεῖδεν ἐλαυνομένην πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε τὴν γένναν αὐτοῦ μικροῦ γε ἐξαμεληθεῖσαν.
>
> And Zeus would reasonably be grateful to him [*sc.* to Poseidon], for he overlooked neither the fact that Leto was being continuously pursued on account of what she obtained [from Zeus] nor his [*sc.* Zeus'] offspring that was almost left uncared for.

[3] Cf. Goeken (2012), 469 n. 28; W. Uerschels, *Der Dionysoshymnos des Ailios Aristeides* (Bonn, 1962), 150 n. 187.

[4] See Uerschels (1962), 54.

[5] This is reflected in Luc. *De salt.* 22 and *Dial. mar.* 5.1, and Philostr. *Im.* I 19.

With these words Aristides alludes to the wanderings of Leto when no place in the Greek world would allow her to give birth to Artemis and Apollo, as we hear in *h.Ap.* 25ff. It is however possible that Aristides had Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* in mind, especially if by ἐλαυνομένην he intends Leto's being pursued on account of Hera's wrath: this motif was explicitly introduced to the story by Callimachus (*Del.* 55ff.) who was probably influenced by Antimachus of Colophon.[6]

Or. 41.6

Another general reference to the first *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* may be found in *Or.* 41.6 (to Dionysus):

> καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν Ἥραν λέγουσιν ὡς μόνος θεῶν τῷ υἱεῖ διήλλαξεν κομίσας τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἄκοντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ταῦτά γε ἀναθεὶς ὄνῳ.
>
> and indeed they say that he [*sc.* Dionysus] alone of the gods reconciled Hera to her son, by bringing Hephaestus back to the heavens against his will, which he did by placing him on the back of a donkey.

The reference posited here is to West's fragment C, transmitted by *P.Oxy.* 4.670 which told the story of Hephaestus' return to Olympus through the agency of Dionysus.[7] The same story was told also by Pindar (fr. 283 SnM), which, however, transmits information in only an extremely summary form.[8] Alcaeus too sang of this story (fr. 349a–e Voigt) and may have known the hexameter hymn. While Aristides mentioned Pindar immediately preceding this reference and may therefore be thought to follow Pindar's telling of the story, the fact

[6] See W. H. Mineur, *Callimachus, Hymn to Delos. Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden, 1984), 95–6; V. J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon: Text and Commentary* (Leiden, 1996), 259–62.

[7] See the reconstruction in West (2011). For the view that the hexameters transmitted by the papyrus may not be archaic, see A. Dihle, 'Zu den Fragmenten eines Dionysos-Hymnus', *RhM* 145 (2002) and A. Faulkner, 'The *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*: *P. Oxy.* 670', *ZPE* 172 (2010b).

[8] (Ἥρα) παρὰ Πινδάρῳ . . . ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεσμεύεται ἐν τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθέντι θρόνῳ ('In Pindar Hera was fettered by Hephaestus on the throne that was fashioned by him'). Cf. T. K. Gkourogiannis, *Pindaric Quotations in Aelius Aristides* (Diss., London, 1999), 112, who observes that the Pindaric fragment 'seems to have very tenuous relation to Aristides' testimony'. See T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, 2 vols (Baltimore and London, 1993), 75–6, for the literary and artistic sources for this story; *h.Hom.* 1 is not included in his survey.

that he switches to *λέγουσι* allows for the possibility that he may also depend on other sources besides Pindar for the telling of this story.

Or. 37.3

In *Or.* 37.3 (to Athena):[9]

> *γενομένη δ' ἐκ Διὸς καὶ μόνου καὶ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐχ ἧττον τούτων θαυμαστὸν τὸ τέταρτον ἐφείλκετο, ὃ δή φασι συμβῆναι περὶ τὸ χάσμα τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς θεοῦ φάσμα· ἀνῄει γὰρ εὐθὺς ἔνοπλος, ὥσπερ ἥλιος ἀνίσχων ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἀκτῖσιν, ἔνδοθεν κοσμηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός.*
>
> Having been born from Zeus and only from him and from his head, she claimed for herself a fourth element as no smaller wonder, that is precisely the apparition of the goddess that people claim to have occurred at the opening of [Zeus'] head; for she rose immediately armed, just as the sun rises along with his rays, having been arrayed by her father inside [his head].

Aristides may have had *h.Hom.* 28 in mind, and in particular the following verses:

> *τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεὺς*
> *σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, πολεμήια τεύχε' ἔχουσαν* 5
> *χρύσεα παμφανόωντα· σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας ὁρῶντας*
> *ἀθανάτους· ἡ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο*
> *ἐσσυμένως ὤρουσεν ἀπ' ἀθανάτου καρήνου*
> *σείσασ' ὀξὺν ἄκοντα . . .*
> *στῆσεν δ' Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς* 13
> *ἵππους ὠκύποδας δηρὸν χρόνον εἰσότε κούρη*
> *εἵλετ' ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ὤμων θεοείκελα τεύχη . . .*
>
> . . . whom Zeus the counsellor bore himself out of his august head, clad in a golden, gleaming armour; awe held all the immortals as they were watching; and she swiftly rose in front of aegis-bearing Zeus, out of his immortal head, brandishing her sharp spear . . .

The points that suggest Aristides' familiarity with *h.Hom.* 28 are: (i) the reference to Athena's birth from Zeus, (ii) without the presence of a mother (*μόνου* ~ *αὐτός*; both accounts omit Metis), (iii) from his head. Further, (iv) this birth was a miracle (*θαυμαστόν*) that caused

[9] For a commentary, see G. Jöhrens, *Der Athenahymnus des Ailios Aristeides. Mit einem Anhang zum Höhenkult der Athena und Testimonien zur allegorischen Deutung der Athena* (Bonn, 1981).

the gods to be awestruck (*σέβας . . . ἔχε*). (v) The goddess quickly darted in full armour (*ἀνήει γὰρ εὐθὺς ἔνοπλος ~ ἡ δὲ . . . ἐσσυμένως ὤρουσεν*; cf. *πολεμήια τεύχε' ἔχουσαν*). Finally, (vi) in both accounts we meet a reference to Helios: in Aristides the goddess is compared to the rising of the radiant sun, whereas in the *Homeric Hymn* the narrator, describing nature's reaction to this miraculous birth (in the part omitted in my quotation), observes that the sun-god halted his chariot until Athena had removed her weapons. Aristides' comparison of Athena to the sun may have been inspired by the adjective *παμφανόωντα* that describes her weapons. This adjective is used in the *Odyssey* as an attribute of Helios in a verse that also contains the word *κεφαλή*.[10] The Homeric comparison of the radiance of a warrior's weapons with the radiance of the sun may also be operating here.[11]

Other poets had of course related Athena's birth, the first account being Hes. *Th.* 924–6.[12] The same story is told slightly differently in [Hes.] fr. 343 M–W, where however at least one piece of Athena's armour, her aegis, is made by a goddess while Athena was still carried by Zeus,[13] which is in conflict with Aristides' account and with *h.Hom.* 28 where Metis is not mentioned. Stesichorus too had sung of Athena's birth, as a brief notice informs us.[14] But in Stesichorus Athena seems to have appeared or landed on earth ([. . . *τε*]*ὑχεσι λαμπομέν*[. . .]*όρουσεν ἐπ' | εὐρεῖαν χθ*[*ό*]*να*). Given Pindar's prominence in the work of Aristides, one might consider also *Ol.* 7.35–9 as a possible source.[15] In that *Ode* the description of Athena's birth is

[10] *Od.* 13.28–9 *αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς | πολλὰ πρὸς ἠέλιον κεφαλὴν τρέπε παμφανόωντα* ('but Odysseus often turned his head towards the bright-shining sun').

[11] Cf. *Il.* 6.513 *τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὥστ' Ἠλέκτωρ ἐβεβήκει* (' . . . he strode gleaming in his armour like Elektor (the sun) . . . '), 19.398 *τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὥστ' Ἠλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων* (' . . . gleaming in his armour like Elektor (the Sun) the son of Hyperion . . . ').

[12] *αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην, | δεινὴν ἐγρεκύδοιμον ἀγέστρατον ἀτρυτώνην, | πότνιαν, ἣ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε* ('he himself gave birth to grey-eyed Athena, the terrible, strife-stirring, army-leading Atrytone, the august one, whom the battle-din and the wars and battles please'). Cf. also vv. 886–900.

[13] [Hes.] *fr.* 343.16–19 M–W (= 294 Most). The goddess in question would most naturally be Metis, but the corrupt v. 16 reads †*ἔνθα θεὰ παρέλεκτο Θέμις*† . . .

[14] Fr. 233 *PMG*. Cf. Schol. A.R. 4.1310 (= p. 313 Wendel) *πρῶτος Στησίχορος ἔφη σὺν ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἀναπηδῆσαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν* ('it was Stesichorus who first said that Athena darted out of Zeus's head in armour'), which only means, as F. Càssola, *Inni omerici* (Milan, 1994), 421, observes, that the scholiast was unaware of both the *Homeric Hymn* and the Hesiodic fragment.

[15] *ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν | χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πα|τέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν | ἀνόρουσαισ' ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ. | Οὐρανὸς δ' ἔφριξέ νιν καὶ Γαῖα μάτηρ* (' . . . when through Hephaestus' craft, by means of an axe forged out of beaten

followed by a reference to Helios,[16] which however serves a different purpose than Helios' presence in the *Homeric Hymn* or in Aristides.[17] Characteristically, Hephaestus is not mentioned in Aristides,[18] which one would have expected if Pindar was the only subtext of the orator's description.

Or. 40.1

The beginning of Aristides' *Or.* 40.1 (to Heracles)

> Ἀλλ', ὦ φίλτατε Ἡράκλεις, σέ γε ἐπαινεῖν ἄθλων ὁ ἥδιστος· πάντως δὲ πολυύμνητος[19] εἶ. πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ καταλογάδην ᾄδοντες τὰ σά, πολλὰ δὲ ποιηταὶ κατὰ πάντας τρόπους ὑμνήκασιν, μέγιστον δὲ ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὸ πάντων ἔπαινος ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς παραπιπτούσης προφάσεως αἰεὶ γιγνόμενος.
>
> But, dearest Heracles, praising you is the sweetest of labours; you are in every respect much-hymned. For many are those who sing of your deeds in prose, and often have poets hymned you in every way; and greatest is the daily praise uttered constantly by everyone on every occasion that arises.

paraphrases and 'glosses' a rhetorical question that appears twice in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (vv. 19 and 207):

> πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;
>
> how should I hymn you, since you are in every way celebrated in many hymns?

bronze, Athena rose from the top of her father's head and uttered an exceeding loud battle-cry').

[16] vv. 39–43: τότε καὶ φαυσίμβροτος δαίμων Ὑπεριονίδας | μέλλον ἔντειλεν φυλάξασθαι χρέος παισὶ φίλοις, | ὡς ἂν θεᾷ πρῶτοι κτίσαιεν | βωμὸν ἐναργέα καὶ σεμνὰν θυσίαν θέμενοι πατρί τε θυμὸν ἰάναι|εν κόρᾳ τ' ἐγχειβρόμῳ ('then even the son of Hyperion, the god who shines for mortals, ordered his dear children to keep the obligation that was going to arise, that they might be the first to set up a brilliant altar for the goddess and, by establishing a holy sacrifice, to please the father's heart and the daughter who thunders with her spear').

[17] Pindar limits nature's reaction to Athena's birth to only Ouranos and Gaia, thus excluding Helios.

[18] See F. W. Lenz, 'Der Athenahymnos des Aristeides', in F. W. Lenz (ed.), *Opuscula Selecta* (Amsterdam, 1972), 364, for the importance of Hephaestus' absence from Aristides' account.

[19] πολύυμνος is used of Dionysus in E. *Ion* 1074 (lyr.) and *h.Hom.* 26.7. Gods in later literature are often described as 'much hymned'; see Chapter 1, Modes and Forms of Reception, pp. 18–19.

The Homeric poet expresses here an *aporia*: he finds it hard to choose among so many stories that exist concerning Apollo. For Aristides the phrase suggests the opposite point: praising Heracles is an easy task precisely because of the abundant material. Besides the prose and poetic hymns there is the everyday phrase (*ὦ Ἡράκλεις*) that people often use on every occasion.

In both *Hymns* the authors use *πάντως* followed by a compound adjective with *ὕμνος* as its second component. In Aristides *πολυ-* may be seen as a kind of gloss on *εὐ-*, which in composition may indicate abundance or easiness.[20] The thrust of the rhetorical question in *h.Ap.*, namely how difficult it is to praise Apollo on account of the many stories told of him, is 'glossed' in Aristides through *ἄθλων* (surely also a reminiscence of Heracles' *ἆθλοι*), while the idea of pleasantness suggested by *εὖ* is rendered through *ἥδιστος*.[21] Aristides thus alludes to *h.Ap.* but makes the opposite point of that suggested by the Homeric poet.

Why does Aristides allude to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* through this rhetorical question at the beginning of the *Hymn to Heracles*? The fact that both gods have been praised extensively in poetry is only a superficial reason. And alluding to Apollo in a hymn to Heracles was not the most obvious strategy, given that the two sons of Zeus were known to have quarrelled in myth. This idea may have been suggested to Aristides from the place in which the *Hymn to Heracles* was to be performed. As we find out at the end of the speech, the orator had seen a dream in which he was delivering a hymn to Heracles in front of Apollo's temple in Smyrne (§22):[22]

> *οὗτός σοι, ὦ φίλε Ἡράκλεις, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν λόγος ἀντ' ἄλλου μέλους ᾠσμένος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου δόξαν, ἣν ἐδόκουν Ἡρακλέους ἔπαινον λέγειν ἐν προθύροις Ἀπόλλωνος.*
>
> This is, my dear Heracles, my logos, sung instead of another song in conformity to the vision of my dream, in which I appeared to utter a praise of Heracles at the vestibule of Apollo.

[20] Callimachus, *h.Ap.* 30–1 alludes to these verses: *οὐδ' ὁ χορὸς τὸν Φοῖβον ἐφ' ἓν μόνον ἦμαρ ἀείσει, | ἔστι γὰρ εὔυμνος· τίς ἂν οὐ ῥέα Φοῖβον ἀείδοι* ('nor will the chorus sing of Phoebus for only one day, for he is easy to praise; who would not easily sing of Phoebus?'); cf. also Call. *Del.* 1–5.

[21] Cf. F. W. Lenz, *Aristidesstudien* (Berlin, 1964), 223–4, on *ἥδιστος ἄθλων*, who also considers that Aristides might be targeting the Christians here.

[22] Cf. Goeken (2012), 430–2.

In a kind of ring-composition then the hymn begins with a reference to a verse *Hymn* to Apollo and has Apollo's name as its last word, while also repeating the address to Heracles.[23]

Or. 43.8

A reference to the shorter *Hymn to Dionysus* (26) v. 6 via Aratus can be detected in *Or.* 43.8 (to Zeus):[24]

> ἐποίησεν δὲ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, οὐ Κρήτης ἐν εὐώδεσιν ἄντροις τραφείς, οὐδ' ἐμέλλησεν αὐτὸν Κρόνος καταπιεῖν οὐδ' ἀντ' ἐκείνου λίθον κατέπιεν . . .
>
> he first created himself and was not reared in the fragrant grotto of Crete, nor was Cronus about to swallow him nor did he swallow a stone instead of him . . .

The reference consists of the phrase ἐν εὐώδεσιν ἄντροις, a variant of which occurs in *h.Hom.* 26.6 alone:

> ὅ δ' ἀέξετο πατρὸς ἕκητι
> ἄντρῳ ἐν εὐώδει μεταρίθμιος ἀθανάτοισιν
>
> and by the will of his father he grew in a fragrant cave to become one of the immortals.

The allusion to the *Hymn to Dionysus*, triggered perhaps by the theme of the divine child pursued by an older god, operates as part of a wider intertextual web. Aristides also had Aratus *Phaen.* 30–5 in mind, where the rearing of Zeus in Crete is related.[25] In that passage too εὐώδης and ἄντρον occur not far from each other, though they are not syntactically related:

> εἰ ἐτεὸν δή,
> Κρήτηθεν κεῖναί γε Διὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι
> οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν, ὅ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα

[23] Cf. Lenz (1964), 232. Apollo is referred to in the *Hymn to Heracles* also in §§10 and 21.

[24] For a commentary, see J. Amann, *Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristeides* (Stuttgart, 1931).

[25] Cf. the comment in D. Kidd, *Aratus* Phaenomena. *Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1997), 187: 'Aratus is recalling *h.Hom.* 26.6. Aristides gives an adapted quotation in *Iov.* 2.' Amann (1931), 50, lists reminiscences of Hesiod and Aratus in this passage, but does not include the *Homeric Hymn*.

> *Δίκτῃ ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο,*
> *ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,*
> *Δικταῖοι Κούρητες ὅτε Κρόνον ἐψεύδοντο.*
>
> If indeed it is true that *those* climbed up in the heavens through the will of great Zeus, because they placed him, when he was a child, in a cave in fragrant Dicte, close to Mount Ida, and they reared him for a year, when the Dictean Couretes deceived Cronus.

Aratus in turn probably alludes to Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* in which the variant traditions regarding Zeus's birth are signalled as a source of major concern.[26] In fact Callimachus uses the same *aporia*-topos mentioned earlier (*Or.* 40.1) which Aristides also uses in his prose *Hymn to Zeus* (§6).[27] Just as Callimachus rejects the poetic versions regarding Zeus' birth and opts for his own,[28] Aristides surpasses Callimachus' critical examination of Zeus' birth myths by rejecting the entire poetic tradition beginning from Hesiod who had Zeus born *ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠλιβάτῳ* ('in a deep(?) cave', *Th.* 483, found in the same *sedes* as our *ἄντρῳ ἐν εὐώδει*):[29] Zeus was not born but he

[26] See Kidd (1997) *ad loc.* The similarities are: (i) Arat. 33 (*ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο*) ~ Call. *Jov.* 51 (*Ἰδαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσι*); (ii) Arat. 32 (*κουρίζοντα*) ~ Call. *Jov.* 54 (*κουρίζοντος*), a similarity underscored by (iii) the wordplay between *κουρίζοντα*/*κουρίζοντος* and *Κούρητες* (Arat. 32, 35 ~ Call. *Jov.* 52, 54); and (iv) the reference to the Curetes' dance that deceived Cronus (Arat. 35 ~ Call. *Jov.* 52–4). (v) Finally, Aratus' *εἰ ἐτεὸν δή* followed by *Κρήτηθεν* may point to Call. *Jov.* 7–8 *πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο*; | '*Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται*'.

[27] Cf. W. R. Race, 'Aspects of Rhetoric and Form in Greek Hymns', *GRBS* 23 (1982), 8, who also discusses the use of this motif in Menander Rhetor's *Sminthiakos*. *Aporia* is expressed also through the priamel that opens *h.Hom.* 1; cf. also M. L. West, 'The First Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus*', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 40–1.

[28] See e.g. M. Cuypers, 'Prince and Principle: The Philosophy of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds), *Hellenistica Groningana*: *Callimachus II* (Leuven, 2004).

[29] Even though Aristides rejects all poetic accounts, he does not criticize the poets openly. An exception may be found at §22 *Ὅμηρος δὲ πόρρω τοῦ καιροῦ μανικὸς ἦν, ὃς ἐποίησεν ἐν θεῶν ἀγορᾷ Δία κωλύοντα θεοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλεσθαι* ('But Homer was inspired beyond what was proper since he presented Zeus as preventing the gods in the divine assembly from caring for humans'). Note that in §6 Aristides had asked the Muses that his speech become *μανικόν* ('inspired') so that he can express himself with words appropriate to the subject-matter, i.e. Zeus. Aristides only agrees with Pindar (§30): *τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν Πινδάρῳ κάλλιον ἢ ἄλλ' ὁτιοῦν ὁτῳοῦν εἴρηται περὶ Διός* (*sc.* fr. 35a SnM) ('This point concerning Zeus has been said by Pindar better than anything else that has been said by anyone').

created himself (§§8–9). In this way Aristides outperforms the poets who have sung of Zeus, by alluding to their stories in order to reject them and introduce his own philosophical vision of the divine.[30]

Or. 43

Still in *Or.* 43, Aristides argues that Zeus is the cause of everything, as is indicated by his name,[31] and explains that the motions of the heavenly bodies are predetermined and ordained (*πρόρρησις . . . προειρημένη*, §24) by Zeus; so too the individual gods' actions stem from Zeus's will. The first example is Apollo's prophecy, expressed in §25:[32]

> *καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀνθρώποις χρησμῳδεῖ Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν . . .*
> and Apollo sings as an oracle to men the unerring will of Zeus . . .

This is a quotation from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 132:

> *χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποις Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν,*
> and I shall prophesy to men the unerring will of Zeus

a phrase shared by only these two texts in literature.[33] The quotation is nearly verbatim, apart from the substitution of the decidedly prosaic *χρησμῳδεῖν*[34] and the switch to the third person.

Or. 43.31

Antonio Aloni has suggested that the end of the *Hymn to Zeus* (*Or.* 43.31)[35]

[30] For Aristides' views on the divine, see Goeken (2012), 271–99; Boulanger (1923), 184–209.

[31] An idea that ultimately goes back to Hesiod, *Op.* 2–3 via Pl. *Crt.* 396a–b.

[32] Pointed out by Amann (1931) *ad loc.* and C. A. Behr, *P. Aelius Aristides, The Complete Works, Vol. 2* (Leiden, 1981), 418 n. 30. Cf. Goeken (2012), 519.

[33] Cf. Apollo's words at *h.Ap.* 252–3 = 292–3: *τοῖσιν δέ κ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν | πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ* ('and I would dispense unerring counsel to them all, issuing oracles in my rich temple').

[34] Found in poetry only in Ar. *Eq.* 818 (anap.) and Palladas *AP* 9.378.3.

[35] A. Aloni, '"Prooimia", "Hymnoi", Elio Aristide e i cugini bastardi', *QUCC* 4 (1980), 39–40 n. 36.

> ἀπὸ τούτου ἄρχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ τελευτᾶν εἰς τοῦτον,[36] παντὸς λόγου καὶ πάσης πράξεως ἡγεμόνα καὶ βοηθὸν καλοῦντας, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τῶν ἁπάντων κρατοῦντα ἀρχηγέτην καὶ τέλειον μόνον αὐτῶν ὄντα τῶν πάντων
>
> One ought to begin and end with him, seeing that they call him the leader of and helper in every speech and every action, just as it is natural that he who rules over everything is the first leader and only perfect being out of all that is.

recalls the end of the first *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (fragment D 8–10 West):

> ἵληθ', Εἰραφιῶτα, γυναιμανές· οἱ δέ σ' ἀοιδοὶ
> ἄρχόμενοι λήγοντές τ'· οὐδέ πῃ ἔστιν
> σεῖ' ἐπιληθόμενον ἱερῆς μεμνῆσθαι ἀοιδῆς.
>
> be propitious, Bull-god who drives women into frenzy. As for us, the singers, we sing of you both at the beginning and at the end [of our song]. There is no way for someone to remember sacred song if he forgets you.

The motif of 'beginning and ending one's song or speech with X' is of course attested elsewhere in hexameter poetry.[37] Beginning and ending one's song with Zeus is a likewise familiar topos.[38] But the fact that this motif concludes both the *Homeric Hymn* and Aristides' *Hymn* (in which we already detected another allusion to *h.Hom.* 1), and that in both cases a reference is made to speech/song, makes it plausible that the end of *h.Hom.* 1 was in Aristides' mind. The existence of a cult of Zeus Bacchus in Pergamon, to which Aristides refers in *Or.* 41.4, may have contributed to this borrowing in praising Zeus.[39]

Or. 43.25

In *Or.* 43.25 (*Isthmian Oration in Honour of Poseidon*) Aristides alludes to *h.Hom.* 6.10–13 (to Aphrodite). While describing Aphrodite's belt, the famous κεστὸς ἱμάς, the orator remarks:

[36] Amann (1931), 109, cites among others [Orph.] *H.* 15.7 (to Zeus) ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή and Menander Rhetor, in the conclusion of his *Sminthiakos* (III p. 445.27 Spengel=p. 222 R–W) ἀπὸ σοῦ γὰρ ἀρξάμενος ὁ λόγος εἰς σὲ καὶ καταντήσει.

[37] Aloni cites *Il.* 9.97, Hes. *Th.* 33–4, 48, [Hes.] fr. 305, Theogn. 1–4.

[38] Cf. Arat. 14, Theocr. 17.14.

[39] ἤδη δέ τινων ἤκουσα καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἴη ὁ Διόνυσος ('I have already heard a speech of some others concerning these matters, that Zeus himself is Dionysus'). Cf. Goeken (2012), 458.

ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτος ὁ κεστός ἐστιν, ᾧ πάντας ἡ θεὸς ἀναδεῖται πρὸς ἑαυτήν, καὶ καθάπερ τινὰ ὅρμον καὶ περιδέραιον συμπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῦτ' εἶναι, καὶ τέμενος Νυμφῶν, ναΐδων ἁπασῶν ἐνταυθοῖ ναουσῶν, καὶ θάλαμον Ὡρῶν, ᾧ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐγκάθηνται καὶ ὅθεν προέρχονται ἀνοιγνῦσαι τὰς πύλας εἴτε Διὸς σύ γε βούλει καλεῖν εἴτε Ποσειδῶνος.

whatever is this *kestos* [belt], with which the goddess fastens everyone to herself, and as though it is some chain or necklace of the whole of Greece, and the precinct of the Nymphs (since all the Naiads dwell there), and the chamber of the Horai, in which they are established for all time and from which they come forth when they open the gates, whether you wish to call them Zeus's or Poseidon's [gates].

The orator loosely adapts *h.Hom.* 6.10–13 that describe how Aphrodite was adorned by the Horai when she appeared from the sea on Cyprus:[40]

δειρῇ δ' ἁμφ' ἁπαλῇ καὶ στήθεσιν ἀργυφέοισιν
ὅρμοισι χρυσέοισιν ἐκόσμεον οἷσί περ αὐταὶ
Ὧραι κοσμείσθην χρυσάμπυκες ὁππότ' ἴοιεν
ἐς χορὸν ἱμερόεντα θεῶν καὶ δώματα πατρός.

they adorned her tender neck and bright-gleaming bosom with golden necklaces, with precisely the same ones with which the Horai of the golden frontlet themselves were adorned when they went to the lovely dance of the gods and the abodes of their father . . .

Both passages mention (i) *ὅρμοι*; (ii) there is a reference to *περιδέραιον* and the goddess' *δειρή*; and (iii) there is mention of the Horai, who received Aphrodite in the *Hymn* when she appeared on Cyprus.[41] Aristides probably uses this reminiscence of *h.Hom.* 6 to interpret what Aphrodite's *κεστός* was: Homer has Aphrodite remove the *κεστός* from her breast,[42] and Aristides accordingly explains the *κεστός* as some kind of *ὅρμος* (playing with the meanings 'necklace' and 'bay, anchorage'), which adorned not just the goddess' bosom as in the *Iliad*, but the entirety of Greece: through a kind of physical

[40] Pointed out by Behr (1981), 423 n. 47; Goeken (2012), 615 n. 78.

[41] A further (faint) reminiscence might be detected in *πύλας . . . Διός* ~ *δώματα πατρός* (*sc. Διός*).

[42] *Il.* 14.214–17 *ἦ καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα | ποικίλον, ἔνθα δέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο· | ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς | πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων* ('She spoke, and loosed from her bosom the embroidered strap, inlaid, in which are fashioned all manner of allurements; in it is love, in it desire, in it dalliance—persuasion that steals the senses even of the wise').

allegory, Aristides equates the *κεστός* with the Isthmos which is the seat of nymphs and the Horai,[43] just as *φιλότης*, *ἵμερος*, and *ὀαριστὺς πάρφασις* are located on the *κεστός*.

THE ORATIONS κατὰ τῶν ἐξορχουμένων AND περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος

The oration *κατὰ τῶν ἐξορχουμένων* §35 (= *Or.* 34) provides the most widely discussed reference to the *Homeric Hymns* in Aelius Aristides:

> *τίς ἄριστος ἐπῶν ποιητής; Ὅμηρος· τίς δ' ὡς πλείστους ἀνθρώπων ἀρέσκει καὶ τῷ μάλιστα χαίρουσιν; ἢ τοῦτό γε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ προείδετο; διαλεγόμενος γὰρ ταῖς Δηλιάσι καὶ καταλύων τὸ προοίμιον, εἴ τις ἔροιθ' ὑμᾶς, φησὶν*
>
> *Ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν*
> *ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;*
> *ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ἀποκρίνασθ' εὐφήμως·*
> *τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσσῃ*
>
> who is the best epic poet? Homer. Who is pleasing to most people and with whom do they rejoice the most? Or did he also foresee this about himself? For while conversing with the Delian Maidens as he was finishing his proem, he says, 'if anyone should ask you, Maidens, who is in your view the most pleasant of bards who frequents this island and in whom do you most rejoice?' You all without exception should respond auspiciously: 'a blind man, and he dwells on rugged Chios.'

This quotation is strongly reminiscent of the quotation of *h.Ap.* found in Thucydides 3.104, when the historian discusses the old Ionian festival on Delos:

> *δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἐστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος* (*h.Ap.* 146–50ff.)
>
> Homer makes it especially clear that things were like this (as I described them) in the following hexameters, which derive from the proem to Apollo.

[43] For allegorical interpretation in Aristides with reference to the gods, see e.g. J. F. Kindstrand, *Homer in der zweiten Sophistik* (Uppsala, 1973), 203–11.

Then Thucydides proceeds:

> ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγὼν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων ἐν τοῖσδε αὖ δηλοῖ, ἃ ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοιμίου· τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἐς τάδε τὰ ἔπη ἐν οἷς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη (*h.Ap.* 165–72ff.)
>
> and he makes clear as well that there was also a competition in music and that they frequented Delos in order to compete in the following verses, which derive from the same proem; for having praised the Delian chorus he was completing his praise in these hexameters in which he also mentioned himself.

The main questions that arise from these quotations are: (i) whether Thucydides and Aristides had known the 'Delian Hymn' as a separate text;[44] (ii) whether Aristides knew the *Hymn* or was quoting from Thucydides and his text; and (iii) the meaning of the term *prooimion*.

On (i): Given that second-century AD authors quote verses from both the Delian and the Pythian sections of *h.Ap.* without differentiating between these sections, we may assume that the poem was known as a unified work at that time.[45]

On (ii) and (iii): Ruhnkenius proposed that Aelius Aristides had correctly understood Thucydides' ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου as καταλύων τὸ προοίμιον, that is, ending the *Hymn*.[46] Gottfried Hermann opposed Ruhnkenius' view in his commentary on the *Hymn* and was the first to suggest that Aristides was drawing only from Thucydides' text.[47]

[44] On the unity of *h.Ap.*, see Clay (1989), esp. 19. For a recent restatement of the separatist position, though without any new, conclusive arguments, see M. Chappell, 'The Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*: The Question of Unity', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011).

[45] See T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936), 186–7, and esp. the citations from Pausanias and Athenaeus. Cf. Paus. 10.37.5: Ὅμηρος . . . ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα; Athen. 22b–c: Ὅμηρος ἢ τῶν Ὁμηριδῶν τις ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνῳ. See also K. Förstel, *Untersuchungen zum homerischen Apollonhymnos* (Bochum, 1979), 67.

[46] D. Ruhnkenius, *Homeri Hymnius in Cererem nunc primum editus. Accedunt duae epistolae criticae ex editione altera, multis partibus locupletiores* (Leipzig, 1839), 77: *Thucydides III. 104 . . . ubi verba ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου non significant finem fecit laudis choro Deliaco tributae, sed finem fecit Hymni in Apollinem, ut recte intellexit Aristides T. II p. 409.*

[47] G. Hermann, *Homeri Hymni et Epigrammata* (Leipzig, 1806), 19: *Caeterum neminem spero fore, qui verba Thucydidis, ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἐς τάδε τὰ ἔπη, pro Ruhnkenii opinione interpretetur. Gravius argumentum peti posset e verbis Aristidis, nisi hic e solo Thucydide videretur hymnum cognitum habuisse.* He was followed by A. Gemoll, *Die homerischen Hymnen* (Leipzig, 1886), 114.

For Allen, Halliday, and Sikes, the similarity of Aristides' wording is too close to suppose that the orator was citing from the text of the *Hymn* rather than drawing from Thucydides' quotation of *h.Ap.*[48] In their view, Aelius was 'superficially excerpting from Thucydides' and 'mistook the meaning of *ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου*'. They further add in a footnote[49] that 'Aristides . . . can have derived his *καταλύων* only from an interpretation of the wording of Thucydides. Hence also Aristides quotes the hymn as Homeric, since Thucydides did.'[50] Allen, Halliday, and Sikes moreover point out that all of Aristides' quotations from Solon in *περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος* (§§138–40) are also found in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*, which these commentators take to be a reflex of the tendency to copy one's 'predecessors quotations and all'.[51] But although we do sometimes encounter 'double quotations' in Aristides, in which the orator cites a text that is quoted from his source,[52] and although it is of course true that Aristides' quotations of Solon are all found in *Ath.* 12.3–4, (i) he does not quote all of the passages located in this section, even though they would provide him with even more arguments in support of his self-praise;[53] and (ii) when he quotes from Solon he distinguishes the metrical form of the fragments (cf. §§138–40). Therefore E. L. Bowie concluded that Aristides had probably used an edition of Solon's poetry in which his works were arranged according to metrical form, as was generally the case with poetic works.[54] Furthermore, it has been shown that Aristides' Pindaric quotations derive from a variety of sources, ranging from editions

[48] Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxi–lxxii.

[49] Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxi n. 1.

[50] From our consideration of the other references to *h.Ap.* in Aristides' orations, it follows that Aristides knew the *Hymn* independently of Thucydides; but of course this does not exclude that Aristides might be reading this part of *h.Ap.* through Thucydides as well; cf. Förstel (1979), 65–9. R. Böhme, *Das Prooimion. Eine Form sakraler Dichtung der Griechen* (Würzburg, 1937), 12–13, argues against the view that Aristides drew his quotation from Thucydides and proposes that Aristides used some collection of quotations instead of looking for the texts in editions; cf. however below, nn. 54–6.

[51] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin, 1916), 454 n. 1, opposed this view.

[52] See Gkourogiannis (1999), 43–55.

[53] Likewise, Aristides does not quote all the verses of *h.Ap.* quoted by Thucydides.

[54] E. L. Bowie, 'Aristides and Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac and Iambic Poetry', in W. V. Harris and B. Holmes (eds), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 20–1.

of Pindar's works to *hypomnemata* and summaries.[55] In addition, David Sider has suggested that Aelius Aristides may have had a complete edition of Simonides at his disposal, from which he quoted in the oration *περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος*.[56] There are finally instances in which Aristides interprets poetic texts (sometimes in agreement with material found in the *scholia*) without marking his interpretation in any way.[57] Aristides' engagement with poetic texts is thus more complex than has been sometimes assumed.

For his part, Càssola observes, unconvincingly in my view, that *ἔπαινος* could be used as a synonym of *ὕμνος* intended as *canto in lode di uno dio*.[58] Further, Thucydides, in Càssola's view, could not have said that lines 165–72 finish the praise of the Delian chorus, since this praise had already finished by then, and the quoted verses constitute the poet's self-presentation. But Thucydides may have meant that the passage belonged to the conclusion of the Delian festival's praise and not to the end of the *Hymn*.

We may now turn to the other speech in which Aristides refers to *h.Ap.*, his oration *περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος* (*Or.* 28 Keil).[59] In that speech Aelius responds to an anonymous critic,[60] probably another

[55] See Gkourogiannis (1999).

[56] D. Sider, 'Sylloge Simonidea', in P. Bing and J. S. Bruss (eds), *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram down to Philip* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 118 n. 20. For the Simonidean quotations in Aristides' oration *περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος*, see also Bowie (2008), 18–20.

[57] For interpretation of Homeric passages in Aristides' works, see Kindstrand (1973), 92.

[58] Càssola (1994), 98–9. He bases his view on quotations from the rhetorical theorists, which, however, do not necessarily imply that *ἔπαινος* meant hymn in Thucydides; cf. Alexander II p. 558.14 Spengel (*ὕμνον δέ φασιν ἔπαινον εἶναι θεοῦ*), Menander Rhetor III p. 331.18–20, p. 2 R–W *ἔπαινος δέ τις γίνεται ὁτὲ μὲν εἰς τὰ θεῖα, ὁτὲ δὲ εἰς τὰ θνητά, καὶ ὅτε μὲν εἰς θεούς, ὕμνους καλοῦμεν*. III p. 343.27–9, p. 26 R–W *ἔφην δὲ γενέσθαι τινὰς ὕμνους καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίου τούτων ἁπάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων συντεθέντων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ καὶ τελειότατοι ἔπαινοι*. Furthermore, that *ἐπαινεῖν* means *recitare carmi epici* in Pl. *Ion* 536d and 541e is irrelevant. Theocr. 16.2, 14–15 where *αἰνεῖν* is parallel to *ὑμνεῖν* is too late to be of any relevance for Thucydides' use.

[59] On this speech, see L. Miletti, *L'arte dell'autoelogio. Studio sull'orazione 28K di Elio Aristide, con testo, traduzione e commento* (Pisa, 2011) and the discussions in I. Rutherford, 'The Poetics of the *Paraphthegma*: Aelius Aristides and the *Decorum* of Self-Praise', in D. Innes, H. Hine, and C. Pelling (eds), *Ethics and Rhetoric. Classical Essays for Donald Russell on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford, 1995) and D. Fields, 'Aristides and Plutarch on Self-Praise', in W. V. Harris and B. Holmes (eds), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods* (Leiden and Boston, 2008).

[60] But see Fields (2008), 167, for the possibility that the critic has been invented by Aristides.

orator, who found it inappropriate that he had praised himself after the speech in honour of Athena, especially since he was declaiming in front of an audience that was very well aware of Aristides' oratorical skills.[61] This critic conveyed his dissatisfaction through a friend of Aristides'. The orator counters the accusation by pointing out that his action was in keeping with the Delphic command to know oneself (§14). This, Aristides says, means not that one should belittle oneself out of modesty, but that one should avoid overestimating or undervaluing one's own capabilities (*μήτε ὑπερβάλῃς μήτε ἐλλίπῃς*). The strongest support for Aristides' thesis comes from a catalogue of references to (and citations of) earlier Greek poets and prose writers, beginning with Homer and Hesiod, who had publicly praised themselves. Aristides effectively argues that he did not commit an error, but that he rather belongs to a long tradition of Greek authors who become thus his predecessors in 'fulfill[ing] the definition of freedom' (*τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὅρον πληροῦν*, §11) which is also a sign of *παρρησία* (§§53, 85, 88).[62]

In §19 of this speech, then, Aristides makes a reference to *h.Ap.* since Homer is the first in this series of authors:

> *Ὅσα μὲν δὴ Ὅμηρος ἐφαίνετο λέγων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κλάειν*[63] *κελεύων τοὺς προσαγωγέας μέμνησαι, ὥστε ἀφίημι αὐτά· καίτοι γε ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔπη*

[61] . . . *ὡς ἄρα οὐκ ὀρθῶς παραφθεγξαίμην μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐγκωμίου καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν εἰς τὴν θεόν* ('that I improperly made a remark in passing in a speech in praise of the goddess', §2; Behr's translation presupposes taking *τοῦ ἐγκωμίου καὶ τῶν λόγων* as a *hendiadys*). This *ἐγκώμιον* is sometimes identified with our *Or.* 37 (to Athena); see Lenz (1972), 370–2, who would place the *παράφθεγμα* in §20, after . . . *εἰς τὴν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς συμφωνίαν*; this presupposes that *μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐγκωμίου καὶ τῶν λόγων* refers to one work that was interrupted rather than two distinct works; see Miletti (2011), 146–7. On the terminology (*encomion, prooimion, hymnos*), see A. M. Milazzo, 'I "proemi" di Elio Aristide nella "techne" retorica di Apsine di Gadara', in U. Criscuolo (ed.), *Forme della cultura nella tarda antichità* (Naples, 2006); J. Wißmann, 'Enkomion, Hymnos und Prooimion. Zu den Prosahymnen des Ailios Aristeides und Dion Chrysostomos, or. 53', in B.-J. Schröder and J.-P. Schröder (eds), *Studium declamatorium. Untersuchungen zu Schulübungen und Prunkreden von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit* (Munich and Lipsia, 2003); and Lenz (1972), 367 for the terms used by Aristides himself to designate his prose hymns. On *prooimion* specifically in the context of the *Homeric Hymns*, see J. S. Clay, 'The *Homeric Hymns* as Genre', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), esp. 237–41 and 252–3.

[62] Cf. F. De Martino, *Omero agonista in Delo* (Rome, 1982b), 26–7.

[63] The text quoted above is Miletti's. Keil posited a lacuna and printed *ὅσα μὲν δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐφαίνετο λέγων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ †καλεῖν κελεύων . . . τοὺς προσαγωγέας μέμνησαι*; he proposed the following supplement *exempli gratia*: *λέγων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἵσ' ᾄδειν κελεύων <τὰς Δηλιάδας, οἷαπερ καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν τινες ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι*

> *σχεδὸν ἅντικρυς λέγει τοῦθ' ὅτι Ὅμηρος αὐτὸν ψηφίζεται ποιητῶν εἶναι κράτιστον.*
>
> You remember all the things which Homer himself manifestly said about himself, bidding the impresarios fare-well, so that I pass them by. Yet those verses indeed state this almost outright that Homer votes himself to be the best of poets.

Although the orator does not offer a proper citation, this reference nevertheless can help us in assessing how Aristides understood the term *προοίμιον*, especially if we consider his comments on Hesiod, another of his predecessors in *περιαυτολογία*.[64] Immediately after this reference to *h.Ap.* Aristides discusses Hesiod's self-praise in the *Theogony* (§§19–20):

> *ἀφεῖται μὲν δή σοι Ὅμηρος. σκόπει δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδου φρόνημα, εἰ ἄρα πρότερον μὴ κατεῖδες.* (20) *ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀρξάμενος τῆς θεογονίας καὶ τὰς Μούσας ὑμνῶν λέγει*
>
> *αἵ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν,*
>
> *καὶ οὕτω σχέτλιος ἦν καὶ ὑβριστὴς ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοσοῦτον ἐνέμειενεν ἐκτελέσαι τὸ προοίμιον ταῖς θεαῖς, ἀλλὰ λέγων ὅτι αἱ Μοῦσαι ὑμνοῦσι τὸν Δία καὶ*
>
> *Λητώ τ' Ἰαπετόν τε ἰδὲ Κρόνον ἀγκυλομήτην,*
>
> *εἶτα οὐ καρτερεῖ, ἀλλ' ὀλίγου μεταξὺ τῶν θεῶν τῶν ὀνομάτων φησίν . . .*
>
> Homer has been left outside consideration as far as you are concerned. But examine also Hesiod's arrogance if indeed you have not perceived it already. For that one, having begun his theogony and hymning the Muses, says
>
> it is they who once upon a time taught Hesiod beautiful song
>
> and he was so wicked and insolent that he did not wait so much as to complete the proem for the goddesses, but saying that the Muses hymn Zeus and

ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν εἰώθασι κελεύειν> τοὺς προσαγωγέας, μέμνησαι . . . (*ἴσ' ἄδειν* having been corrupted to *καλεῖν* in majuscule). Miletti adopts Behr's correction *κλάειν κελεύων* (for *καλεῖν κελεύων*), the idea being that Homer could praise himself and therefore could bid the *προσαγωγεῖς* (which Miletti takes to mean those who introduced the orators) farewell. Incidentally, the lemma in Miletti's commentary (*ὅσα μὲν δή σοι Ὅμηρος κτλ.*) does not correspond to the text printed in the edition (*σοι* is missing, just as in Keil's text). See finally Miletti (2011), 29–32 for arguments that the speech implied here is *Or.* 37 (*κατὰ τῶν ἐξορχουμένων*).

[64] On the term *περιαυτολογία* ('speaking about oneself') which Aristides does not use in this oration, see Miletti (2011), 36–41 and especially L. Pernot, '*Periautologia.* Problèmes et méthodes de l'éloge de soi-même dans la tradition éthique et rhétorique Gréco-Romaine', *REG* 111 (1998).

> Leto and Iapetos and Cronus of the crooked mind
> then he does not wait but almost in the midst of the names of the gods he says . . .

And a little further in §21:

> ὅσῳ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐπιεικέστεροι <τοῦ> Ἡσιόδου μάθε, ἐπειδή γε ἀναγκάζεις. ὁ μὲν μεταξὺ τὸν ὕμνον ποιῶν ταῖς θεαῖς τοῦτο ἐντέθεικε τὸ ἔπος, ἐγκώμιον ὡς εἰπεῖν ἑαυτοῦ· ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὴν θεὸν λόγους καθαροὺς καθαρῶς ἐξεργασάμενοι μικρόν τι περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἄγραφον παρεφθεγξάμεθα.
>
> Learn by how much we are more modest than Hesiod, since you force me. This one, while composing the hymn for the goddesses, inserted this verse, a praise of himself so to speak. But I, having worked out the speech for the goddess, clear (of any additional comments) and continuously, made a small, unwritten, comment concerning myself as an aside.

From these two passages it appears that Aristides uses *προοίμιον ταῖς θεαῖς* interchangeably with *ὕμνον ταῖς θεαῖς*. At the same time, there is the difficulty that the *Hymn to the Muses*, as the first 115 verses of Hesiod's *Theogony* are sometimes dubbed,[65] is actually a proem also in the sense of *exordium*, an integral part of the *Theogony* which it introduces. This could mean (since *h.Ap.* was known as one integral poem in the second century AD)[66] that Aristides interpreted the Delian section of *h.Ap.* as a shorter proem or *ἐγκώμιον* delivered before the longer Pythian section of the *Hymn*. The self-praise is thus found at the end of the proem, between the proem and the *Hymn* proper, and this supports Aristides' own action: he had inserted a self-praise between the proem (the speech which he calls an *ἐγκώμιον*) and the longer speech to Athena. After he had completed the *ἐγκώμιον* and before embarking on his longer speech he made an impromptu comment about himself (cf. §112).

That Aristides might have understood that part of *h.Ap.* to have ended is supported by vv. 165–7 that present certain closural motifs: the wish for the god to be propitious (*ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν*), the presence of *χαίρειν*,[67] and the request for future

[65] Witness the title of the commentary on Hes. *Th.* 1–115 by P. Pucci, *Hesiodus: Inno alle Muse: Esiodo, Teogonia, 1–115. Testo, introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Pisa, 2007).

[66] See n. 45.

[67] Cf. the use of *χαίρειν*/*χάρις* in Aristides *Or.* 41.13, 42.15, 45.34. Cf. W. D. Furley and J. M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic*

remembrance (ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε | μνήσασθ(ε)).[68] These closural features are modified to lead into the singer's self-praise, which thus becomes an integral part of the poem. Aristides, however, implies that he praised himself in a less conspicuous manner compared to Homer (not to mention Hesiod), in that he did not embed the self-praise in his ἐγκώμιον nor did he commit it to writing.

Since the term *prooimion* is not found in any other quotation of the *Homeric Hymns* until Aristides—some form of the word ὕμνος is used instead[69]—it could be argued that Aristides was the first to use the term προοίμιον again to designate the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Hesiod's *Hymn to the Muses*, and in doing this he thought he was reaching back to Thucydides and probably also Pindar,[70] whom he knew well and from whom he quotes very frequently. Likewise, Aristides might have viewed his prose *Hymns* as introductory pieces, as is suggested by a reference to the *prooimia* of Aristides in Valerius Apsines' *Techne* (1.77). These, as Antonino Milazzo has argued, are not lost speeches as Dilts and Kennedy thought, but Aristides' prose *Hymns*.[71] It appears then that in claiming for oratory the role of

Period. I, The Texts in Translation. II, Greek Texts and Commentary (Tübingen, 2001), I.62–3.

[68] De Martino (1982a) argues that Nicander alludes to these verses from *h.Ap.* at the closure of his *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*.

[69] See Aloni (1980), 28–30, and A. Faulkner, 'The Collection of *Homeric Hymns*: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011c), esp. 176–8, for the quotations of the *Hymns*. And M. Costantini and J. Lallot, 'Le *prooímion* est-il un proème?', *Études de littérature ancienne 3: Le texte et ses représentations* (Paris, 1987) for a survey of the use of the term προοίμιον.

[70] Pi. *N.* 2.1–5 Ὅθεν περ καὶ Ὁμηρίδαι | ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' ἀοιδοὶ | ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου, καὶ ὅδ' ἀνὴρ | καταβολὰν ἱερῶν ἀγώ|νων νικαφορίας δέδεκται πρῶτον, Νεμεαίου | ἐν πολυυμνήτῳ Διὸς ἄλσει ('Just as the sons of Homer, those singers of verses stitched together, most often begin with a prelude to Zeus, so has this man received his first installment of victory in the sacred games at the much-hymned sanctuary of Nemean Zeus'). But see Clay (2011), 237–41, for the difficulties that the term *prooimion* presents. Note especially that: (i) *h.Ap.* (i.e. Thucydides' *prooimion*) mentions choral rather than epic/rhapsodic performances; (ii) Stesichorus 241 *PMG* announces: μέτειμι δὲ ἐπὶ ἕτερον προοίμιον ('I pass on to another *prooimion*'). Also (iii) Demodocus' second song in *Od.* 8 (on Ares and Aphrodite) that in some ways resembles a *Homeric Hymn* does not introduce anything.

[71] See Milazzo (2006) who offers an analysis of Aristides' use of the term προοίμιον on pp. 196–7. Also S. P. O'Rourke, 'Apsines of Gadara', in M. Ballif (ed.), *Classical Rhetorics and Rhetoricians: Critical Studies and Sources* (Westport, CT, 2005) on Apsines in general. The passage runs: ἄλλο. πότ' οὖν εὐχῇ χρηστέον; ὅταν ᾖ ἱερατικὸν τὸ πρόσωπον ἢ ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ἱερωσύνης ἢ ἡ πόλις ἱερά, οἷον ἡ Δελφῶν ἢ Δηλίων, ὥσπερ

poetry in praising the gods Aristides also revitalizes a usage and a mode of delivery that he thought to have existed in archaic and classical times.[72]

CONCLUSION

From the preceding discussion we may draw the following conclusions: Aristides clearly knows some of the *Homeric Hymns* to which he alludes and which he sometimes quotes in his orations. His knowledge is not limited to the major *Hymns* (*h.Hom.* 1, 3), but includes also some of the shorter ones (*h.Hom.* 6, 26, 28, and possibly 7). Sometimes he offers a very general reminiscence of a story told in one of the *Homeric Hymns*; in these cases we cannot be absolutely certain that a reference to a *Homeric Hymn* was intended. Occasionally Aristides simply quotes a phrase that contributes to his argument, while some other reminiscences of the *Hymns* seem to take into account the poems' *Nachleben* in Hellenistic times. Aristides' engagement with the *Homeric Hymns* ranges thus from general reflection of a mythological story to intricate allusions and 'window references'.

Just as Aristides claims *μέτρον* for oratory,[73] he also claims a form of inspiration for himself that is akin to that which the poets enjoy (through his dreams or in form of *μανία*).[74] He seems to attribute to

Ἀριστείδης ἐποίησεν ἐν προοιμίοις, ἢ πανηγύρεως θεοῦ ἢ ὁ λόγος. ('Another. When, then, should one use a prayer? Whenever the imagined speaker is a priest, or is speaking about a priesthood, or when a sacred city is involved, for example, Delphi or Delos, as Aristides did in prooemia (to encomia of those cities), or when the speech is concerned with praise of a god'). Dilts and Kennedy *ad loc.* remark that these speeches have not survived.

[72] This seems to have worked: although Aristides did not invent the genre of prose hymn, as we saw above Menander Rhetor explicitly recognized Aristides' *μαντευτοί* speeches.

[73] Not in the sense of rhythm (though prose rhythm is present in Aristides' orations: cf. Boulanger (1923), 430–5; Lenz (1964), 212–14), but as 'due measure' or completeness of thought; see *Or.* 45.9–10. Note, too, that Aristides had composed also metrical hymns; cf. Boulanger (1923), 300–2; Mesk (1927), 668–72; Goeken (2012), 66–9.

[74] Cf., for instance, *Or.* 28.75, 102, 105 (for inspiration through dreams). §105 mentions again *προοίμια*, which Behr (1981), 386 n. 148 thought to be similar to the *μαντευτοί*. But the most economical solution would be to consider them the same as the prose hymns. Cf. also §§110ff. and Fields (2008), 164–5.

his prose *Hymns* the status of προοίμια in imitation of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (as quoted by Thucydides). In this he makes his hymnal practice conform to what he understands to have been the poetic practice in archaic and classical times, thus emulating the poets also in this respect.[75]

[75] The theoretical underpinnings of this emulation are set out in the introduction to the *Hymn to Sarapis* (*Or.* 45.1–12). See especially, Russell (1990) and R. Velardi, 'Le origini dell'inno in prosa da V e IV secolo a.c. Menandro Retore e Platone', in A. C. Cassio and G. Cerri (eds), *L'inno tra rituale e letteratura nel mondo antico. Atti di un colloquio, Napoli 21–24 ottobre 1991* (Rome, 1991). For the sophists' relation to poetry in the second century AD, see E. L. Bowie, 'Greek Sophists and Greek Poetry', *ANRW* II 33.1 (1989).

10

The *Homeric Hymns*, Cornutus, and the Mythographical Stream

José B. Torres

INTERTEXTUALITIES

This chapter explores the extent to which Cornutus, a Roman grammarian and philosopher of the first century AD who wrote in Greek his allegorical *Compendium of the Theological Traditions of the Greeks*,[1] may have known the *Homeric Hymns*. It is also part of a more wide-ranging project which aims to discern the traces of the *Homeric Hymns* in the mythological literature of antiquity.

In the case of the first text of the collection which has come down to us in its entirety, the *Hymn to Demeter*, Richardson's commentary on the work includes a section that details the possible allusions to the text present in later Greek literature:[2] according to this, it seems likely that Cornutus may be alluding to the *Hymn* in his mythographical treatise. The apparent allusion occurs in section 35 (74) of the text:[3] *ἐπονομάζεται δὲ ἐπιθετικῶς καὶ πολυδέκτης καὶ πολυδέγμων καὶ πολύαρχος πολλούς τε δεχόμενος καὶ τῶν λεγομένων πλειόνων ἢ πολλῶν ἄρχων*, 'and he is called with epithets also *polydektes*

[1] Cf. A. D. Nock, 'Kornutos', *RE* Suppl. V (1931); G. W. Most, 'Cornutus and Stoic Allegoresis', *ANRW* II 36.3 (1989); H.-G. Nesselrath, (ed.), *Cornutus. Die Griechischen Götter: ein Überblick über Namen, Bilder und Deutungen* (Tübingen, 2009).

[2] Cf. N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 67–8.

[3] Cf. Richardson (1974), 68. Quotations from Cornutus are taken from C. Lang's edition: *Cornuti Theologiae Graecae Compendium* (Leipzig, 1881).

("All-Receiver") and *polydegmon* ("All-Receiver") and *polyarchos* ("Ruling over many") since he both receives many and rules over the so-called majority or the many.'

The Roman writer refers to Hades in this passage using two epithets with the initial term πολυ- (πολυδέκτης, πολυδέγμων).[4] Both also appear, likewise in reference to Hades, a few short verses apart in the *Hymn to Demeter*. In telling of the rape of Persephone, the *Hymn* first recounts (8–9) that Earth seduced the Maiden with a narcissus, so as to appease the 'Hospitable One' (πολυδέκτης): νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρῃ | Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῇσι χαριζομένη πολυδέκτῃ, 'and the narcissus flower, which Gaia brought forth as a means to deceive the blushing maiden, out of favor for the Hospitable One according to the will of Zeus'. Then the *Hymn* tells of the emergence of the 'Hospitable' (πολυδέγμων), who broke his way into the upper world through an opening in the ground: Νύσιον ἂμ πεδίον, τῇ ὄρουσεν ἄναξ πολυδέγμων, '. . . on the Nysean plain, where the Hospitable Lord rose . . . ' (17). This passage of the *Hymn* is the first one in which the two epithets under discussion are featured.[5] Moreover, Richardson also notes that πολυδέκτης appears only[6] in the *Hymn* and in Cornutus' work, a concurrence that renders an intertextual relationship between the texts more likely, especially because of the simultaneous and singular appearance of πολυδέγμων in both passages.

A further fact may be added to Richardson's line of argument. Hades is called πολυδέκτης and πολυδέγμων in chapter 35 of Cornutus' *Compendium*, as noted above. The remarkable point here is that Cornutus does not limit himself to citation; rather, it appears that he intensifies the stylistic feature used in the *Hymn to Demeter* by adding, on his own account, a third epithet that opens with πολυ-: πολυδέκτης καὶ πολυδέγμων καὶ πολύαρχος; the last adjective does not occur in the Homeric text and could even have been coined ad hoc by Cornutus.[7] It is true that Hades, as lord of the populous community

[4] Richardson (1974), 61 highlights the frequency with which πολυ- compounds figure in the *Hymn to Demeter*; in reference to Hades, cf. πολυδέκτῃ (9), πολυδέγμων (17, 31, 404, 430), πολυώνυμος (18, 32), and πολυσημάντωρ (31, 84, 376). Demeter is called πολυπότνια (211) and πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν (315).

[5] Cf. Richardson (1974), 145, 150.

[6] The case of the proper noun *Πολυδέκτης* is different.

[7] This point cannot, of course, be proved, but Cornutus, the only authority cited by LSJ, s.v. πολύαρχος, is the first writer known to have used this adjective. Gregory of Nazianzus used the term later, as did a number of Byzantine authors.

of dead humans, is especially closely linked to the root of πολύς, which is reflected in the fact that the comparative form of the adjective is used in Greek as a euphemism for those who have died.[8] Overall, however, the key issue is that the addition of the third epithet opening with πολυ- may show how Cornutus also drew on this passage in the *Hymn to Demeter* for stylistic inspiration.

This instance taken from the *Hymn to Demeter* is not the only point at which Cornutus evinces his knowledge of the *Homeric Hymns.* According to an unpublished commentary on the *Compendium* by Hays, a significant number of the attributes and properties applied to Hermes in chapter 16 are also found in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, a text with which Cornutus (or his source) must have been familiar.[9] In line with the order in which they appear in the text, Hays refers specifically to the parallels where the god Hermes is depicted as a messenger:[10] 'Argus-slayer', 'gold-wand', conductor of dreams, divine oracle, son of Zeus and of Maia, inventor of the lyre, the thief-god, and god of the flocks.[11]

It is true that such correspondences do exist. But they are perhaps insufficient to establish a relation between both texts, as almost all of them are too general. The existence of more precise coincidences—in particular verbal parallels—would enable a reading of the *Hymn to Hermes* as a source for Cornutus. At first sight, the text does not disclose textual parallels like those that occur with the *Hymn to Demeter*. However, other details might also be analysed, such as specific correspondences in qualities attributed to Hermes that feature in Cornutus' work and the *Hymns*, but not in Homer. Along with Hesiod, the work of Homer was a primary literary source for Cornutus; his *Compendium* cites or refers to the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* on twelve occasions, which is particularly noteworthy because the *Compendium* text takes a limited approach to quotation.[12] Two

[8] It is used in this sense by Cornutus in the cited text (35 (74)). Cf. also LSJ, s.v. πλείων (A.I.2): γραῦς ἀνεστηκυῖα παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων (Ar., *Ec.* 1073).

[9] R. S. Hays, *Lucius Annaeus Cornutus' Epidrome. Introduction to the Traditions of Greek Theology* (Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1983), 149. Cf. Corn. *ND* 16 (20–6). On the sources for Cornutus' work, see under Cornutus and his Sources.

[10] As διάκτορος. Regarding the interpretation of the epithet, cf. LSJ and Vergados (2013), 487.

[11] Cf. Hays (1983), 149–51. The parallels traced by Hays are also recorded in Nesselrath's notes (2009), 129–30.

[12] Cf. 15 (20), 16 (22), 17 (26, 27), 22 (42, 43), 24 (45, 46), 25 (47), 28 (53), 32 (65, 69). As regards Hesiod (six quotations), cf. 17 (28, 29, 31), 24 (45), 28 (56), 32 (68).

attributes of the son of Zeus and Maia may function as exact parallels of this kind: the role of Hermes as oracular divinity and as inventor of the lyre.

Neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* makes any reference to Hermes in terms of divination. The role of diviner is referred to, however, towards the end of the *Hymn to Hermes*, when Apollo concludes that the young god also wants to enjoy his powers of prophecy.[13] Apollo tells Hermes that he cannot grant his wish because his gift comes from Zeus, who alone may grant it to another (533–8). Nevertheless, Apollo sees no reason why his brother-god may not have a divinatory power that he himself had exercised when he was a child:[14]

> σεμναὶ γάρ τινες εἰσί, κασίγνηται γεγαυῖαι,
> [. . .]
> μαντείης ἀπάνευθε διδάσκαλοι, ἣν ἐπὶ βουσὶ
> παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν μελέτησα.
>
> there are some august (nymphs), sisters by birth, . . . dwelling apart as teachers of the art of prophecy, which I studied when I was herding my cattle while still a child.

The three sisters to whom Apollo refers are prophetic bees that are gifted to Hermes.[15] In the *Compendium* (16 (22)), as in the *Hymn*, and in contrast to the work of Homer, Hermes is depicted as having powers of prophecy: *ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους ἐπιπέμπειν ἔδοξε καὶ μάντις εἶναι [διὰ τοῦ τρόπου], τρέπων ὡς βούλεται τὰς φαντασίας·* '*θεῶν δ' ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ὄνειροι*', 'therefore he further seemed to send dreams and to have oracular powers, turning the apparitions as he wishes: "dreams as well are messengers of the gods."'

After these, the most frequently cited author is Cleanthes: 26 (48), 31 (64), 32 (67, 68, 69); Euripides is mentioned or cited in 20 (35), 24 (45), 31 (64).

[13] In the text as it has come down to us, Hermes does not explicitly request this gift, despite Apollo's declaration in line 533. Cf. J. S. Clay, *The Politics of Olympus: Form and Meaning in the Major 'Homeric Hymns'* (Princeton, NJ, 1989), 144; N. J. Richardson, *Three Homeric Hymns: Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite* (Cambridge, 2010), 217; and A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 561.

[14] The *Hymn* refers to this matter in verses 552 to 567. The lines quoted are 552, 556–7. Cf. Vergados (2013), 566–70.

[15] Cf. 567. On the identity of these prophetic bees, cf. S. Scheinberg, 'The Bee Maidens of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*', *HSPh* 83 (1979); J. Larson, 'The Corycian Nymphs and the Bee Maidens of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*', *GRBS* 36 (1995); Richardson (2010), 219–20; Vergados (2013), 567–8. Apollod. 3.10.2 also alludes to Hermes' powers of divination, of different kinds (by means of stones or pebbles).

However, the difference between the two texts should be noted: the divination referred to by Cornutus is not divination through bees or some other physical omen, but divination based on dreams. Hence, 'Hermes the Diviner' is comparable to Amphiaraus of Oropos or, in the field of medicine, to Asclepius of Epidaurus.[16] Moreover, the *Compendium* seems to be the only ancient text that links Hermes with such augury. In other words, to Cornutus' mind,[17] the role of Hermes as diviner in fact depends on, and is even identical to, another of his functions, as bringer of sleep and conductor of dreams, a role that is also cited in the *Hymn to Hermes* and referred to by Homer at various points in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[18] Therefore, the apparent correspondence, although suggestive, is not evidence enough of a link between Cornutus' text and the *Hymn to Hermes*.

Apollo is the preeminent god of music in the *Homeric Hymns*; he is linked to two very different stringed instruments from the very beginning of his life (*h.Ap.* 127–32; cf. 131): the cithara (*κίθαρις*) and the bow (*τόξα*). The *Hymn to Hermes* may be stoking a certain controversy in relation to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in its portrayal of the newborn god making a musical instrument that will ultimately captivate his brother Apollo (cf. 24–51, 436–62).[19] Hermes' invention is referred to first as a *φόρμιγξ* (64, 506); then as a *κίθαρις* (499, 509, 515);[20] and, on occasion, as a *λύρη* (423).[21] Cornutus uses the latter term (16 (25)) in describing Hermes as the inventor of the instrument:[22] *τῆς δὲ λύρας εὑρετής ἐστιν οἷον τῆς συμφωνίας καὶ ὁμολογίας καθ' ἣν οἱ ζῶντες εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ἡρμοσμένην ἔχειν τὴν διάθεσιν*

[16] Regarding the interpretation of dreams and its role in the cult of Amphiaraus, cf. Paus. 1.34.5. On Asclepius, Epidaurus, and healing in sleep, cf., above all, the evidence in the *Sacred Tales* of Aristides.

[17] This feature may be an independent development of Cornutus (or a source of his, now lost), who would have combined the ideas of Hermes as conductor of dreams and their premonitory character.

[18] Cf. *h.Herm.* 14 (Hermes, 'bringer of dreams': *ἠγήτορ' ὀνείρων*). In the canonical Homeric poems, cf. e.g. *Il.* 24.343–4 (the god uses his staff to send men to sleep).

[19] Cf. Richardson (2010), 161; Vergados (2013), 246–7, 517–18, 530–1.

[20] Cf. also, in 17, 423, 425, 433, 455, 475, 476, 510, various forms of *κιθαρίζω*.

[21] In 418, *λύρην* is proposed by Stephanus (instead of transmitted *λαβὼν*); cf. Richardson (2010), 206; Vergados (2013), 503, suggests editing *χέλυν*. Cf. in Vergados (2013), 280, an account of the different contexts in which the terms *φόρμιγξ*, *λύρη*, and *κίθαρις* are used.

[22] His preference for the term *λύρα* may have been conditioned by considerations of genre and time (it is used more commonly in prose than *κίθαρις* and in Cornutus' time).

ἐπιβάλλοντος, 'and he is the inventor of the lyre, i.e. of harmonious concord and agreement; those living according to it attain happiness, since they are made to have a well-tuned disposition.'

The term συμφωνία is of key significance in this sentence; it is crucial to an allegorical interpretation of the myth whereby it connotes both music itself and the Stoic doctrine that identifies virtue with harmony, as Chrysippus averred according to Diogenes Laertius: τήν τ' ἀρετὴν διάθεσιν εἶναι ὁμολογουμένην, 'and virtue is a harmonious disposition'.[23] Moreover, the preceding chapter in the *Lives of Philosophers* uses the exact same term as Cornutus, συμφωνία, to say that the happiness of the virtuous man consists of ὅταν πάντα πράττηται κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παρ' ἑκάστῳ δαίμονος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων διοικητοῦ βούλησιν, 'whenever everything is conducted in such a way that the spirit inside every human being is in agreement with the wish of he who governs everything'.[24]

Indeed, the adjective σύμφωνος occurs in the *Hymn to Hermes* in the context of the invention of the lyre: ἑπτὰ δὲ συμφώνους ὀΐων ἐτανύσσατο χορδάς, '<He> stretched out seven sheep-gut strings to sound in concord' (51).[25] Although the adjective συμφώνους recurs throughout the manuscript tradition, Antigonus of Carystus (third century BC) had already quoted the line with θηλυτέρων, whereby the meaning of the verse would read 'he stretched out the stomachs of seven ewes'. Although the textual problem will not be addressed in detail,[26] Cornutus' reference to συμφωνία in the context of the invention of the lyre (16 (25)) implies that he may have read the term συμφώνους in this line of the *Hymn* in the first century AD.[27]

This, therefore, seems to provide grounds for reading a link between Cornutus and the *Hymn to Hermes*. On the one hand, both texts depict Hermes as the inventor of a stringed musical instrument, which is significant because this is a feature that does not play a role in the canonical work of Homer (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*) and is given its

[23] D.L. 7.89 = *SVF* 3.39. On this passage from Cornutus and its link to the writings of the early Stoics, cf. I. Ramelli, *Anneo Cornuto. Compendio di teologia greca* (Milan, 2003), 341.

[24] D.L. 7.88 = *SVF* 3.4.

[25] If sound, the word σύμφωνος appears here for the first time; cf. Richardson (2010), 162.

[26] Cf. Vergados (2013), 269–70; in his own edition, he opts for the form θηλυτέρων.

[27] Therefore, Cornutus' parallel should be regarded as a textual testimony.

canonical expression in the fourth of the *Homeric Hymns*;[28] on the other hand, if *συμφώνους* is sound in the *Hymn to Hermes*, as most editors think, there would also appear to be a meaningful textual correspondence between the two texts which is highly unlikely to have been the result of chance or coincidence.

A common feature of the *Hymn to Hermes* and the *Hymn to Demeter* is that they are of the 'major' or long hymns,[29] which have left the clearest mark on the Greek literary tradition.[30] Thus, they are the texts that are most likely to have been known and drawn upon by mythographical writers such as Cornutus in antiquity. At the same time, the particular *Homeric Hymns* and chapters in Cornutus' *Compendium* that call for closest analysis deal with gods that hardly feature in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*; since no Homeric model was available in such cases, it seems more than likely that Cornutus would have turned to an alternative source such as the *Hymns*, whose authorship was in fact attributed to Homer by many writers in the Alexandrine and post-Alexandrine eras.[31]

Two gods that play only a marginal role in the work of Homer are Demeter and Dionysus, both members of the select group of the 'twelve gods'; nevertheless, they scarcely figure in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* because they are popular deities, of merely secondary interest in Homer's aristocratic mythology.[32] However, Demeter and Dionysus are the dedicatees of two long hymns, numbers one and two in the corpus. The *Hymn to Demeter* has been discussed above; the *Hymn to Dionysus*, the first text in the collection, requires more detailed analysis.[33]

[28] It also appears in the work of other authors prior to Cornutus; cf. D.S. 1.16, 5.75; Hor. *C.* 1.10.6.

[29] The 'long hymns' are texts 2–5 in the collection, as well as 1 and 7; cf. J. B. Torres, 'Die Anordnung der homerischen Hymnen', *Philologus* 147 (2003), 4–6.

[30] Cf. A. Faulkner, 'The Collection of *Homeric Hymns*: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011c), 178–201; also Richardson (1974), 68–73; Vergados (2013), 76–124.

[31] Cf. Faulkner (2011c), 176–8.

[32] The *Iliad* (14.326) refers to Demeter in telling of Zeus' passion for her; the *Odyssey* (5.125–8) refers to the loves of Demeter and Iasion. Regarding Dionysus, see also n. 36. It should be noted that Dionysus' membership (and, to a lesser extent, Demeter's) of this select group of twelve gods is less certain than that of other deities (cf. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 2011), 198).

[33] *Hymn VII*, a text of quite substantial length (59 verses), is also addressed to Dionysus, although it does not appear to be linked in any way with the work of Cornutus.

The text of the first *Hymn to Dionysus*, which must unquestionably have been a lengthy composition, is extant in a very fragmentary form.[34] Furthermore, the verses that have been published in various editions may not all proceed with the same degree of certainty from the *Homeric Hymn* dedicated to Dionysus.[35] Therefore, these sixty verses, comprising fragmentary lines and lines of uncertain provenance, offer limited grounds for comparison with Cornutus. The latter refers to the son of Zeus and Semele in chapter 30 of the *Compendium* and draws directly on the few verses in the *Iliad* (6.130–40) that speak of Dionysus (30 (62)):[36] *καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ δὲ μῦθος, ὡς φεύγων ποτὲ τὴν Λυκούργου ἐπιβουλὴν ὁ θεὸς ἔδυ κατὰ θαλάττης, εἶθ' ἡ Θέτις αὐτὸν διέσωσεν, ἐμφανῆ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχει*, 'and the story that appears in the work of the poet (Homer), that, fleeing the plot of Lycurgos, the god once dove into the sea and Thetis saved him, has an obvious meaning.'

A further detail that has hitherto attracted little notice in scholarship might be mentioned here: there is a textual correspondence between the work of Cornutus and two confirmed fragments from the *Hymn to Dionysus*. In both fragments, Dionysus is referred to with an epithet of uncertain meaning, which occurs once in Alcaeus, though not in Homer:[37] the vocative form *Εἰραφιῶτα* (*δῖον γένος Εἰραφιῶτα*, 'son of Zeus, Bull-god'; 2 Càssola = fr. A, 3 West),

[34] Regarding the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* as a long hymn, cf. Torres (2003), 4–5; M. L. West, 'The First Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus*', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 30. On the reconstruction of the text, cf. M. L. West, 'The Fragmentary *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*', *ZPE* 134 (2001) and West (2011).

[35] Compare the editions by F. Càssola, *Inni Omerici* (Milan, 1975) and M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, MA, 2003). The key issue here is whether or not *P.Oxy*. 4.670 may be said to contain text from the *Hymn*. West (2001) and (2011), 32–3, supports this view. For a contrasting perspective, see Càssola (1975), 15; A. Dihle, 'Zu den Fragmenten eines Dionysos-Hymnus', *RhM* 145 (2002); cf. also A. Faulkner, 'The *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*: *P. Oxy*. 670', *ZPE* 172 (2010b).

[36] In the *Odyssey*, Dionysus is mentioned in relation to Ariadne (11.321–5), and in relation to the amphora in which the bones of Achilles were kept (24.73–5).

[37] Alcaeus (381 LP = 349a Voigt) employs the Aeolic form *Ἐρραφεῶτα*. The adjective *Εἰραφιώτης* is used on a number of occasions in the *Dionysiaca* by Nonnus (9.23, 14.118, 229, 21.81, 42.315), and in a number of works on grammar (cf. e.g. Hdn. Gr., *Epim*. 52). For further discussion, see A. Bernabé, 'L'epiteto *Εἰραφιώτης* e la legittimità di Dioniso', in A. Cosentino and M. Monaca (eds), *Studium Sapientiae* (Soveria Manelli, 2013).

possibly meaning 'Taurine' or 'Bull'.[38] What is striking is that this quite unusual epithet concerning Dionysus, which may have been a term employed only occasionally in the cult of the god, is used again—perhaps twice[39]—at the end of the hymn: *ἵλη*θ' *εἰραφιῶτα* [. . .] *Διώννσ*' *εἰραφιῶτα*, 'Be propitious, Bull god [. . .] Dionysus, Bull god' (16, 19 Càssola = fr. D, 8–11 West).

'Eiraphiotes' is another of the epithets for Dionysus that Cornutus presents and interprets in allegorical terms in his text, at 30 (62): *βασσαρέα καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βάζειν καὶ εἰραφιώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔριν ἀφιέναι*, 'and they call him *bassareus* because he speaks (*bazein*) and *eiraphiotes* because he puts away (*aphienai*) strife (*eris*)'. In spite of the huge volume of Greek literature now lost, the possibility that Cornutus came to know the word *Εἰραφιώτης* through the *Hymn to Dionysus* should be taken into account, especially given the fact that there appear to be clear links between the *Compendium,* the *Hymn to Demeter*, and, in a very credible sense, the *Hymn to Hermes*; once again, therefore, the evidence seems to suggest that in writing his *Compendium* Cornutus may have been familiar to a certain extent with the *Homeric Hymns*.

CORNUTUS AND HIS SOURCES: BACK TO THE *QUELLENFORSCHUNG*?

Two different theories may be posited as regards how Cornutus acquired such knowledge: he may have read the *Homeric Hymns* for himself, just as he may have had direct access to the texts of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*; or his knowledge of the *Hymns*, which were never as widely circulated as the Homeric epics, may have come from intermediary texts in first-century AD imperial Rome, which prompts the vexed question of the sources used by Cornutus for his mythographical compendium.[40]

[38] Cf. *LfGrE*, s.v. Bernabé (2013), 70–1, holds this etymology to be 'probable'. Regarding Dionysus and his link to bulls, cf. Burkert (2011), 105.

[39] According to West (2003), 31, the last two verses of his fragment D must be excluded. Cf. also Bernabé (2013), 58–9.

[40] On Cornutus and his sources, cf. Nock (1931), 998–1003; Most (1989), 2016; Ramelli (2003), 470–88.

Cornutus is very sparing in his use of quotations from other authors, whether literary or not, an approach that may be due to the didactic purposes of the *Compendium*, devised in principle as an introductory manual which should provide a young pupil with an overall view of the allegorical meanings contained in Greek mythology.[41] Despite the uncertainty surrounding the exact nature of his sources, Cornutus did draw on preexisting sources that are referred to explicitly as 'philosophical' in the epilogue to the *Compendium* (35 (76)), which discusses the authors whose work has been summarized by Cornutus for the instruction of his disciple, albeit without citing them by name:[42] *διὰ πλειόνων δὲ καὶ ἐξεργαστικώτερον εἴρηται τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις φιλοσόφοις, ἐμοῦ νῦν ἐπιτετμημένως αὐτὰ παραδοῦναί σοι βουληθέντος*, 'the older philosophers have said these things with more words and rather elaborately, while I wished to hand them down to you now in a concise manner.'

Moreover, there is some textual evidence that Cornutus sometimes presents his material in an order previously established in the source from which he is drawing. This would appear to be the case on at least three occasions where he punctuates the transition from one point in his argument to the next using a verbal adjective ending in *-τέος*, indicating 'necessity'. The conclusion to his commentary on Hesiod's cosmogony moves back to his presentation of the myths concerning different gods as follows (17 (31)): *νῦν δὲ τὰ βεβοημένα παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπισκεπτέον*, 'and now we should examine the things which have been proclaimed loudly by most people.' A similar move is made when Cornutus rounds off his account of Ares and begins to tell of Poseidon (22 (41)): *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ὦ παῖ, λεκτέον*, 'After these things we must speak about Poseidon, my child.' And the same turn is taken at the beginning of the chapter on Demeter and Hestia (28 (52)), when the account of Pan has been drawn to a close: *ἑξῆς δὲ περὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Ἑστίας, ὦ παῖ, λεκτέον*, 'Next we must speak concerning Demeter and Hestia, my child.'[43] In

[41] For a list of quotations in the *Compendium*, cf. n. 12 above. For the peculiarities of the work as a didactic manual, cf. Most (1989), 2029–34; in relation to the scarcity of its quotations, cf. Most (1989), 2032.

[42] With the exception of Cleanthes in 31 (64).

[43] Most (1989), 2032, offers a different interpretation of these interrelations. Cornutus also structures his narrative using markers that do not involve obligatory transitions: cf. *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλως ὁ Ζεὺς πατὴρ λέγεται θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι* (9 (9)); *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ τῶν λεγομένων Τιτάνων ἐστὶ γένεσις* (30 (41)); *ἐχομένως τοίνυν*

the latter two cases, it should be noted that there is no need—from a mythological point of view—to speak of Poseidon after having discussed Ares, nor to follow an account of Demeter and Hestia with a discussion of Pan.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the scholarship on Cornutus focused in particular on identifying the sources of his work, although no firm conclusions were reached. The author of the *Compendium* was said to have drawn on a wide variety of authors and texts: a Stoic commentary on Hesiod, the work *On the Gods* (*Περὶ θεῶν*) by Apollodorus of Athens, mythological textbooks that are no longer extant, the work of Philoxenus the grammarian, and, most clearly, texts by Cleanthes, Chrysippus, and Posidonius.[44] A key paper published in 1931 called this entire line of inquiry into question by disputing whether the work of Apollodorus of Athens was a basic source text for the *Compendium*, a point on which a certain degree of critical consensus had been reached.[45] It is actually highly probable that Cornutus used the *Περὶ θεῶν* by Apollodorus; in this regard, the textual correspondence between fragment 102 of Apollodorus and chapter 35 of the *Compendium*, which describe the underworld and the rivers that run through it,[46] is noteworthy: *Κωκυτὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ἀνέπλασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κωκύειν* [. . .]. *Τοιούτου δέ ἐστι γένους καὶ ὁ Πυριφλεγέθων· εἴρηται γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὶ φλέγεσθαι τοὺς τελευτῶντας*, 'and they moulded the river Cocytus from "lamenting" (*kokyein*). Of such a kind is also *Pyriphlegethon*; it has been called thus due to the fact that the deceased are burned with fire [*pyri phlegesthai*]' (*FGrH* 244 F 102 a 7–8); *φανερὸν δὲ πόθεν καὶ ὁ Κωκυτὸς καὶ ὁ Πυριφλεγέθων τὴν κλῆσιν ἔσχον, πάλαι καιόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ κωκυτὸν ἐγειρόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, 'and it is obvious whence both Cocytus and Pyriphlegethon received their names, since in the past the Greeks used to burn their dead and raise a lament' (Corn. *ND* 35 (74–5)).

However, since our knowledge of the *Περὶ θεῶν*[47] is so fragmentary, the degree to which the later text depends on the earlier one, and

[. . .] *Ἀπόλλων ἥλιός ἐστιν* (32 (65)); *τελευταῖον δὲ τὸν δεχόμενον τὰς ψυχὰς ἀέρα Ἅιδην* [. . .] *προσηγόρευσαν* (35 (74)).

[44] Cf. Nock (1931), 998–1003.

[45] Cf. Nock (1931), 1002, and Most's comment on the issue (1989), 2016.

[46] For further examples of correspondences between Cornutus and Apollodorus, cf. Nock (1931), 1001.

[47] For further discussion of efforts to reconstruct the text (method and contents), cf. R. Münzel and E. Schwartz, 'Apollodoros (61)', *RE* I.2 (1894), 2872–5;

whether transitions like those described above (*μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* [. . .] *λεκτέον*, *ἑξῆς δὲ* [. . .] *λεκτέον*) were determined by the model set out in Apollodorus' work, are open questions. In fact, there are discrepancies between the two texts, such as in the etymologies presented for different mythological names; see, for instance, the case of Aphrodite *πάνδημος*:[48]

> *Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεῶν, πάνδημόν φησιν Ἀθήνησι κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφιδρυθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγοράν, διὰ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πάντα τὸν δῆμον συνάγεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἃς ἐκάλουν ἀγοράς.* (*FGrH* 244 F 113)
>
> Apollodorus says in his work 'Concerning the Gods' that the one [*sc.* Aphrodite] established near the ancient *agora* was called Pandemos in Athens because in the past the entire (*panta*) populace (*demos*) used to gather there in the assemblies, which they called *agorai*.
>
> *καλεῖται δ' οὐρανία τε καὶ πάνδημος καὶ ποντία διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς θεωρεῖσθαι.* (Corn. *ND* 24 (46))
>
> and she is called both 'Heavenly' (*ourania*) and 'Of all the people' (*pandemos*) and 'of the sea' (*pontia*) because her power can be perceived both in the sky and on earth and in the sea.

The issue of whether Cornutus had read the *Homeric Hymns* for himself, or had come to know of them through the sources on which he based his own work, cannot be decided with any certainty. If it were to be shown that Cornutus had firsthand knowledge of the *Homeric Hymns*, it would add to the case that the texts were still known and read in Roman times. Evidence from other authors already suggests that this was the case. For instance, West holds that Pausanias' description of the paintings for the Athenian theatre of Dionysus where the god led Hephaestus to Olympus depicts a scene that corresponds to a line of argument he retraces to the *Hymn to Dionysus*; he also argues that Pausanias is alluding to this text when he says *λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων*, 'this also the Greeks say'.[49] Moreover, there are good reasons to think that shortly before the time of Cornutus, and in the city of Rome itself, Ovid had read the

K. Reinhardt, *De Graecorum theologia capita duo* (Berlin, 1910); R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968), 261–3.

[48] For other examples of such discrepancy, cf. Nock (1931), 1001–2.

[49] Cf. Paus. 1.20.3 and West (2011), 42.

Homeric Hymns and drawn on them as a mythological source in composing his *Metamorphoses*;[50] for instance, it is more than likely that his version of the rape of Persephone (*Met.* 5.342–572) borrows from the account given in the *Hymn to Demeter*, a text that Ovid must have both known and emulated.[51]

Perhaps more important is the question of whether the *Homeric Hymns* were introduced into the broad stream of the mythographical genre through the work of grammarians such as Apollodorus of Athens.[52] This chapter cannot offer a definitive answer, but are there grounds for thinking that the *Περὶ θεῶν* by Apollodorus was based on direct knowledge of the *Homeric Hymns* and, if so, what was Cornutus' relationship to him?

Despite the fragmentary nature of what we know about the *Περὶ θεῶν*, it can be said that its author seems to be familiar with the *Hymns* and, moreover, that he must have regarded them as the work of Homer. A scholion to a verse in the *Iliad* (21.319), included by Jacoby among the philological fragments of Apollodorus, notes:[53] *Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ φησι περισσὸν τὸ ς παρ' αὐτῷ* [«*ἅλις σχέραδος*»] *εἶναι, ὡς παρ' Ὁμήρῳ τὴν φερέσβιον*, 'And Apollodorus claims that the *σ* is superfluous in this phrase [*sc. ἅλις σχέραδος*], just as in Homer in the word *φερέσβιον*.'

The word *φερέσβιος* does not appear in Homer (meaning the texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*),[54] although it does figure once in the Hesiodic corpus (*Th.* 693) and, more pertinently, on several occasions in the *Homeric Hymns*: in the *Hymn to Apollo* (341), in *Hymn* 30 (9), and, above all, in the *Hymn to Demeter* (450, 451, 469). Scholarship

[50] This theory, proposed by a number of earlier philologists, was reasserted by A. Barchiesi, 'Venus' Masterplot: Ovid and the Homeric Hymns', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds), *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's* Metamorphoses *and its Reception* (Cambridge, 1999) at the end of the twentieth century. Within this volume, see also chapters 5–7.

[51] Cf. Richardson (1974), 72.

[52] As regards the 'epigonic' position assigned to Apollodorus in the philology of his own time, cf. Pfeiffer (1968), 265–6.

[53] Sch.Gen. *Il.* 21.319 = *FGrH* 244 F 281. On this passage, cf. T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936), lxxiii–lxxiv; Richardson (1974), 68; Faulkner (2011c), 176.

[54] It cannot be excluded that *φερέσβιος* could be once discovered in Homeric texts, i.e. in hexameters attested through the so-called 'wild' papyri (cf. G. D. Bird, *Multitextuality in the Homeric Iliad. The Witness of the Ptolemaic Papyri* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2010)). Insofar as a line including it does not appear, this possibility should be regarded, in my opinion, as an argument *ex silentio*.

has underscored the significance of this fragment because it implies that an erudite Greek scholar such as Apollodorus attributed authorship of the *Hymns* to Homer.[55] For the purposes of this chapter, the term seems to show that Apollodorus knew and cited the *Hymns*.

As things stand, there are no direct examples of Apollodorus' use of the *Homeric Hymns*: apart from the passage discussed above, none of the known fragments of his work cite them. A general feature of the way Apollodorus worked with texts is noteworthy in this regard: many quotations were included in the *Περὶ θεῶν*. A number of fragments that have come down to us through indirect transmission reflect this mode of composition, such as fr. 102 (a), known via Stobaeus, in which Apollodorus first cites two verses from the *Persephone* by Melanippides, then two other verses from Licinius, three from the *Polyxena* by Sophocles, and four from the *Odyssey*.[56] In the late twentieth century, another text by Apollodorus was recovered from a papyrus in Cologne, in which all twenty-four fragmentary verses of the *Meropis*, an epic poem dating to the sixth century BC, are cited.[57] In the same text on the same papyrus, Apollodorus also cites five trochaic tetrameters by Epicharmus, one of the few authors from whom Cornutus quotes directly himself.[58]

Although there are no extant fragments of the *Περὶ θεῶν* containing quotations from the *Homeric Hymns*, the general use of citation in the text suggests that Apollodorus' readers could have acquired some understanding of the hymnic corpus through references made by the grammarian himself. What is more, such readers would have found more than verses or brief passages quoted from the *Hymns*: literal quotations would have been framed by Apollodorus' interpretations, as was the case in the fragments from the *Περὶ θεῶν* discussed earlier in this chapter.

The *Περὶ θεῶν* as a whole is now lost. But the fragments which remain enable an analysis of the kind of interpretation of the myth that Apollodorus would have offered; as a grammarian, he would

[55] Cf. Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxiv; Richardson (1974), 68, 298; Faulkner (2011c), 176–7.

[56] *FGrH* 244 F 102 (a) = Stob. 1.49.50 (pp. 418.8–420.20 W).

[57] Regarding P. Köln 126 [5604], cf. R. Merkelbach and L. Könen, 'Apollodoros (*Περὶ θεῶν*), Epicharm und die Meropis', in A. Hanson (ed.), *Collectanea Papyrologica. I* (Bonn, 1976); N. Pellé, 'A proposito di P. Köln 126, col. I 1–4', *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* 2 (2005).

[58] Cf. Epich., fr. 135 (*PCG*); cf. also Corn. *ND* 14 (14, 18).

have focused above all on the 'true meaning', the *ἐτυμολογία* of the theonyms and divine epithets on which he commented. In this regard he would appear to be similar to Cornutus, although he is also different insofar as his etymologies are not bound up with allegories as they tend to be in Cornutus' *Compendium*.[59]

The point to be highlighted at this juncture is that on a number of the occasions in which Cornutus shows his knowledge of the *Hymns*, the intertexts bear the mark of Apollodorus' interpretation. This is true in those cases discussed above that prompt the conclusion that the Stoic author is citing the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* and the *Hymn to Demeter*: Cornutus' comments on *πολυδέκτης*, *πολυδέγμων*, and *Εἰραφιῶτα* could very well have been expressed by Apollodorus with his interest in epithets; what the former adds is the allegorical interpretation.

Of course, the possibility that Cornutus read the *Hymns* himself cannot be ruled out. This might account for the correspondence between *συμφωνία* (Corn. *ND* 16 (25)) and *σύμφωνος* (*h.Herm.* 51), because the link in this instance is not an epithet of the kind on which Apollodorus commented and the connection between the texts seems to call for a reading of the broader context. However, Cornutus may also have become familiar with this context through his knowledge of the literal quotations cited by Apollodorus. Whatever the case may be, the key point in this regard, as noted above, is that Cornutus' knowledge of the *Hymns* must have derived at least in part from Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν* as an intermediary source.

A complete account of the traces of the *Homeric Hymns* in the work of the mythographical authors of antiquity would have to take into consideration the work of mythographical writers prior to Apollodorus, such as Eratosthenes of Cyrene, for instance, if the *Catasterisms* we have are indeed his work,[60] as well as authors that came after Apollodorus, such as the Epicurean Philodemus of Gadara. He is known for certain to have attributed the *Hymns* to Homer in his *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*, and he also cites them in the second

[59] Cf. Pfeiffer (1968), 261, 263. It should be noted that there was no ineluctable link between etymology and allegory in ancient mythological interpretation; cf. G. W. Most, 'Allegoresis and Etymology', in A. Grafton and G. W. Most (eds), *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach* (Cambridge, 2015), 52–74.

[60] According to the most recently published critical editions; cf. J. Pàmias, *Eratòstenes de Cirene. Catasterismes* (Barcelona, 2004); J. Pàmias and A. Zucker, *Ératosthène de Cyrène. Catastérismes* (Paris, 2013). Regarding the *Catasterisms* and their relation to the *Hymn to Hermes*, cf. Vergados (2013), 88–9.

part of the text.[61] The *Mythological Library*, which according to a number of scholars closely follows the model of the *Hymns* dedicated to Demeter and Hermes,[62] would also be relevant in this regard. But this lies outside the scope of the current chapter, which has suggested that it can be assumed with relative confidence that Annaeus Cornutus employed the *Homeric Hymns* as immediate or mediate mythographical sources.

[61] For a critical edition of its first part, cf. D. Obbink, *Philodemus. On Piety: Part 1* (Oxford, 1996). For the references to the *Hymns* in Philodemus, cf. Faulkner (2011c), 176. Richardson (1974), 68, notes two other points where Philodemus may be alluding to the *Hymn to Demeter*; cf. also Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxix and the comments made in R. Philippson, 'Zu Philodems Schrift über die Frömmigkeit', *Hermes* 55 (1920).

[62] J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus. The Library* (London and Cambridge, MA, 1921), I 34, II 5, holds that what the *Library* recounts of Demeter (1.5.1–3) and Hermes (3.10.2) borrows from the corresponding *Homeric Hymns*. Regarding the *Hymn to Demeter*, cf. also Richardson (1974), 71. In relation to the *Hymn to Hermes*, cf. Vergados (2013), 93–7.

11

The *Homeric Hymns* in Late Antiquity

Proclus and the Hymn to Ares

Robbert M. van den Berg

INTRODUCTION

Anyone who is even slightly acquainted with Plato may be surprised to find a chapter on Neoplatonism and the *Homeric Hymns* in the present volume. Plato, after all, had a famously troubled relationship with poetry and poets, and especially with Homer and Hesiod, who are ceremoniously thrown out of Kallipolis (*Republic* 398a1–b4). Even though 'singing hymns to the gods' is part of the meagre musical entertainment allowed to the inhabitants of Plato's healthy city, these would certainly not have included the longer *Homeric Hymns*, which portray the gods as criminal minds and lusting after human lovers, thus threatening to corrupt the morals of the citizens of Kallipolis.[1] By contrast, the Platonists of Late Antiquity, the so-called Neoplatonists, positively embraced poetry in general and that of Homer in particular, his immoral stories about the gods included. In response to the emergence of Christianity, the pagan philosophers of Late Antiquity presented themselves as true Hellenes, that is as representatives of the great Hellenic literary and intellectual tradition from which the Christians were said to have foolishly distanced themselves.[2] This

[1] On hymn-singing in Plato's ideal city (*R.* 372b7) and the absence of allusions to the *Homeric Hymns*, cf. Faulkner (2011c), 197.

[2] For Christian responses to these attempts by the pagans of Late Antiquity to monopolize classical *paideia*, see Chapter 12 in this volume.

broad Hellene coalition against Christianity included any ancient author of note, even the poets and rhetoricians whom Plato had so severely castigated.

In an attempt to harmonize Plato's criticism of Homer with the Neoplatonic veneration of the latter as the founding father of Hellenism, Proclus (AD 412–85), the influential head of the Neoplatonic school of Athens, developed a theory of three different types of poetry that will be discussed in the second section of this chapter.[3] This theory will help us to appreciate better the role of hymns in the Neoplatonic school of Athens. In keeping with the religious overtones of Plato's metaphysics, worship of the divine was considered an essential activity of Neoplatonic communal life. Even though we have no evidence that the Neoplatonists sang *Homeric Hymns*, there are tiny yet undeniable clues that these hymns inspired the hymns composed by the Neoplatonists themselves, notably those by the aforementioned Proclus. In the third section of this chapter, then, I shall focus on Proclus' hymns and their relation to their Homeric counterparts. Finally, in the fourth section of this chapter, I shall turn to the much-debated eighth *Homeric Hymn*, to Ares, and examine the claims that this hymn was the product of a Neoplatonic poet, be it Proclus or Porphyry.

PROCLUS' THEORY OF POETRY

In the sixth of his essays on Plato's *Republic*, Proclus develops a division of poetry into three types, each of which is associated with a different aspect or part of the human soul.[4] Its superior part allows the soul to connect itself to the gods in a mystic fashion. This

[3] As R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley, CA, 1986), 183, puts it in his instructive discussion of Proclus' appreciation and exegesis of Homer, 'Neither possibility—the loss of Homer or the loss of Plato—is one Proclus could easily accept.'

[4] Proclus *in Remp*. 1.177.7–179.32; on this division of poetry into three parts, see the seminal study by A. Sheppard, *Studies on the 5th and 6th Essays of Proclus' Commentary on the Republic* (Göttingen, 1980), especially pp. 163–202, and the recent annotated translation by R. Lamberton, *Proclus the Successor on Poetics and the Homeric Poems: Essays 5 and 6 of His Commentary on the Republic of Plato* (Atlanta, GA, 2013) of Proclus' two essays on Plato's criticism of Homer's poetry in the *Republic*.

experience surpasses ordinary human rationality, νοῦς, which makes up the second part of the human soul. The third part of the human soul consists of the non-rational element that is moved by non-rational sensations (αἰσθήσεις) and the corresponding mental images (φαντασίαι). Ordinary, mimetic poetry, the type of poetry that Plato severely criticizes in *Republic* 10, appeals to the lowest, non-rational part of the soul. Proclus too thinks little of it. This is different in the case of poetry that appeals to human rationality. Modern scholars tend to identify it with our modern concept of didactic poetry. Since this category fits ill with the actual examples that Proclus mentions (moralizing poetry by Theognis and Tyrtaeus) and hints at (poems by Presocratic philosophers such as Parmenides and Empedocles), I prefer Proclus' own label 'παιδευτικός', that is poetry that plays a role in the education of the young by helping them to actualize their rational potential.[5] In contrast to this rational sort of poetry, the ultimate form of poetry is the product of divine inspiration and in turn passes this divine inspiration on to its audience, which is thus able to transcend ordinary human rationality.[6] Proclus identifies this type of literature with the poetry of Homer and Hesiod that Plato criticizes in *Republic* 2. Socrates suggests that the offensive stories about the gods that we find in these poets should perhaps not be taken at face value, but may contain some deeper, allegorical significance. Even so, this poetry is still unsuitable for the education of the young. If these stories have to be told at all, it should be to a very select public, in some sort of secret rite after its participants have offered 'not a pig, but a bigger sacrifice that is difficult to get' (*R.* 378a5–6). From this Proclus deduces that allegorical poetry is intended for a more mature public that may actually benefit from it.

Proclus takes Plato's suggestion of a secret ritual as the proper setting for reciting inspired poetry more seriously than Plato had probably intended. Proclus' theory of divine inspiration and allegorical poetry is in part influenced by his theurgical practices.[7] Theurgy

[5] I discuss this issue in R. M. van den Berg, 'Proclus on Hesiod's *Works and Days* and "Didactic" Poetry', *CQ* 64 (2014).

[6] Cf. Proclus *in Remp.* 1.182.21–185.7, where Proclus discusses the theory from Plato's *Ion* according to which the divine inspiration of the poet (Homer) rubs off on the rhapsode (Ion), just as the power of the magnetic stone rubs off on the iron rings that touch it.

[7] I have discussed Proclus' views on theurgy and their relation to his poetry at some length in R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary*

(θεουργία), literally the performance of actions (ἔργα) regarding the gods (θεοί), is the sort of ritual that the later Neoplatonists considered an indispensable means to achieve mystical union with the divine, the goal of their philosophy. Whereas the first generation of Neoplatonists (Plotinus, Porphyry) had maintained that such a mystical union could be achieved through rational philosophy alone, later Neoplatonists, starting with Iamblichus, argued that, since the gods are supra-rational beings, rational means alone would not suffice. They argued that a philosopher should both practise philosophy by studying the works of Plato and others and practise theurgy. At the heart of theurgy lies the notion of symbolism. Proclus posits the existence of causal chains. The ultimate cause of all things is the One or the Good. All things participate in the One through the so-called Henads, participable manifestations of the One that Proclus identifies with the Gods. From these Henads proceed causal series, the so-called σειραί. The nearer a member of such a σειρά is to its Henad, the more unified it is, and therefore better; the further, less so. Since all members that make up a σειρά share a common cause, the Henad, there exists a link of συμπάθεια between them, that is members of the same σειρά exercise a mutual influence on each other. Theurgy makes use of this συμπάθεια in order to attract divine powers that lift up the souls of the initiated towards the gods. This is done by means of σύμβολα. These σύμβολα are the elements at the lower, that is inferior, end of a σειρά. In contrast to the superior elements higher up the causal chain, they are material. One may think here of stones, plants, and animals. A cock, for example, belongs to the same σειρά as the sun-god Helios, as can be seen from the fact that cocks greet the rising sun by crowing, just as some flowers, like the lotus, do so by opening their petals.[8] The theurgists will use these *symbola* in, for example, the construction of magical statues, in order to attract the divine powers that belong to the same σειρά.

Proclus assumes that allegorical literature may function in a similar way to the physical σύμβολα in theurgy. Allegorical literature is a product of divine inspiration, and hence the divine powers are drawn to it, as they are to material σύμβολα such as plants and animals. It

(Leiden, 2001), 66–111; on this issue, see also P. Struck, *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of their Texts* (Princeton, NJ, 2004), 227–53.

[8] The examples derive from Proclus' treatise *De Sacrificio* (cf. van den Berg (2001), 79–81).

may, therefore, be very useful to cite bits of patently inspired poetry, such as verses from Homer's epics, in hymns and prayers that aim at calling forth divine assistance. To give an example, Proclus in his hymn to the gods of wisdom (*H.* 4.5–7) quotes from *Il.* 5.127–8. In these verses, Athena promises Diomedes that she will lift the mist (ἀχλύς) from his eyes that prevents him from distinguishing gods from men. In a similar way, Proclus hopes that the gods of wisdom will open his inner, spiritual eye.[9] Notwithstanding the close relation between the gods and inspired poetry, inspired poetry does not necessarily show us the gods as they truly are. Just as cocks and lotus-plants are not true-to-life images of the sun-god, the literary symbols, the stories about the gods that we find in Homer and Hesiod, do not present us with clear-cut images of what the gods are really like. It is only upon embarking on a demanding, allegorizing exegesis of these texts that it becomes apparent how exactly these stories fit the gods and their activities.

In the discussion below I shall assume that Proclus considers the *Homeric Hymns* as yet another product of Homer's divine inspiration, given his almost religious respect for Homer and his desire to construct some sort of a unified Hellenic tradition which brings together all the great thinkers and poets of the past. Admittedly, though, this is just a hypothesis. Proclus nowhere discusses the issue of the authorship of the *Homeric Hymns*, which was debated even in antiquity.[10] In fact, in his philosophical works he does not refer to or quote from the *Homeric Hymns* at all. This is different, though, in the case of his own hymns, which contain allusions to the *Homeric Hymns*.

[9] Proclus apparently builds on existing magical practices, since these verses could reputedly cure visual problems if applied in an incantation (van den Berg (2001), 99–100, 182–3). D. Collins, 'The Magic of Homeric Verses', *CPh* 103 (2008) gives a detailed discussion of the use of Homer in magical texts and compares this to Proclus' theurgical practices. As he rightly stresses (p. 231), the magical texts lack the spiritual element that is so characteristic of Proclus' hymns, yet 'a conceptual framework such as that provided by Proclus offers a cogent explanation of why Homeric verses in particular developed this kind of magical function'. Interestingly, whereas the magical papyri exclusively use verses from Homer while neglecting the *Homeric Hymns*, Proclus uses material from the *Homeric Hymns* as well, as we shall see next.

[10] On the authorship of the *Homeric Hymns* in antiquity, see A. Faulkner, 'The Collection of *Homeric Hymns*: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011c), 176–8.

PROCLUS

Proclus' *Hymns*

Above I mentioned the crowing of the cock and the opening of the petals of the lotus at sunset, which Proclus explains from the fact that the cock and the lotus belong to the causal series of the sun-god. In this way they perform the act of *ἐπιστροφή*, the Neoplatonic technical term for the reversion of products upon their cause. By doing so, they worship and hymn the divine in their own appropriate fashion. In other words, according to Proclus, hymn-singing is the result of our innate urge to revert back upon our metaphysical causes.[11] Marinus, Proclus' pupil who wrote a biography in celebration of his master, reports that there existed a collection of hymns by Proclus.[12] Seven of these, all hexameter poems, have come down to us as part of manuscripts that contain also the *Homeric Hymns*, along with the so-called *Orphic Hymns* and those by Callimachus.[13]

There is little reason to assume that Proclus modelled his collection of hymns on the corpus of *Homeric Hymns*, as has been suggested in the case of the *Poemata Arcana* by Gregory of Nazianzus.[14] If we assume that the order in which the seven hymns have come down to us is that of the original hymnbook, we find that already the principle of organization in both collections is different. In the case of the *Homeric Hymns*, the lengthier ones precede the shorter ones. In the case of Proclus' *Hymns* the two longest hymns, the one to Helios (fifty verses) and the one to Athena (fifty-two verses), mark the beginning and end of the collection, the rest of which consists of shorter hymns (between fifteen and twenty-one verses). This difference in length probably reflects the importance of Helios and Athena in Proclus' religious life. Plato in the *Republic* had famously compared the Good, the highest God for the Neoplatonists, to the sun (its 'child

[11] For hymn-singing in any shape or form as an act of *ἐπιστροφή*, see van den Berg (2001), 19–22.

[12] Marinus, *Proclus* §19: *ἡ τῶν ὕμνων αὐτοῦ πραγματεία*.

[13] Proclus' hymns are available in the edition by E. Vogt, *Procli hymni accedunt hymnorum fragmenta, epigrammata, scholia, fontium et locorum similium apparatus*, indices (Wiesbaden, 1957); I discuss them at length in van den Berg (2001).

[14] This suggestion about the *Poemata Arcana* was made by B. E. Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (London, 2006), 29; it has been rejected with good reason by A. Faulkner, 'St Gregory of Nazianzus and the Classical Tradition: The *Poemata Arcana* Qua Hymns', *Philologus* 154 (2010c).

and off-spring', *R.* 507a3). In addition to this, the sun was associated with the 'channels of light' that played an important role in theurgical rituals that aimed at the elevation of the human soul. Athena, on the other hand, was the patron of Philosophy and, according to Marinus, the personal guardian deity of Proclus. Proclus' hymns, furthermore, lack the narrative sections that are so characteristic of the longer *Homeric Hymns*. In this respect they resemble other types of later hymns, for example the hymns in the magical papyri and the Orphic hymns. Even so, Proclus' hymns are clearly intended to call up the atmosphere of Homeric poetry, and they contain some references, however rare, to their Homeric counterparts. The best example comes from Proclus' second hymn, dedicated to Aphrodite.[15]

Proclus' *Hymn to Aphrodite*

Love, ἔρως, for all things beautiful plays an important role in the Platonic spiritual life. Proclus' hymn to the goddess of love, Aphrodite, is, at least in part, inspired by the extended celebration of the powers of love that is Plato's *Symposium*. It consists of two parts, a celebration of Aphrodite (1–13) and Proclus' requests to her (14–21). The opening verses (1–3) run as follows:

> Ὑμνέομεν σειρὴν πολυώνυμον Ἀφρογενείης
> καὶ πηγὴν μεγάλην βασιλήιον, ἧς ἄπο πάντες
> ἀθάνατοι πτερόεντες ἀνεβλάστησαν Ἔρωτες
>
> We hymn the many-named series of Aphrogeneia
> and the great royal source, from which
> all immortal winged Erotes sprang up . . .

[15] Most passages from the *Homeric Hymns* that Vogt (1957) quotes in the *fontium et locorum similium apparatus* of his edition do not concern clear references to the *Homeric Hymns*, but rather comparable, if not directly related, expressions. Examples (apart from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*): Proclus *H.* 1.1 κλῦθι cf. *h.Hom.* 8.9; Proclus *H.* 6.1 χαῖρε, θεῶν μῆτερ, πολυώνυμε, cf. *h.Hom.* 14.1 μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων | ὕμνει Μοῦσα. Note, however, that Vogt's *apparatus* is not exhaustive. It does not list, for example, the reference in n. 17. Lamberton (1986), 175, suggests that Proclus' *Hymn* 7, to Athena, derives its title Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν Πολύμητιν from the *Homeric Hymn to Athena* (28.2) where Athena is called πολύμητις (the Homeric epics reserve the epithet exclusively for Odysseus). However, the titles of Proclus' hymns were probably inserted by Gemistus Pletho; they do not go back to Proclus (cf. van den Berg (2001), 5–6).

Next follows a list of the different types of Erotes and their activities. Love, according to Plato's *Symposium*, may alert us to the transcendent source of physical beauty and thus direct our attention upwards to intelligible Beauty and make us flee this impure, material world. In line with this idea, Proclus here refers to a class of Erotes that make human souls ascend to the immaterial realm by kindling in them a desire for intelligible beauty by means of 'intellective arrows' (*νοεροῖσιν . . . βελέμνοις*, l. 4). Other Erotes, by contrast, 'aroused a yearning for the earthly existence' (*ἵμερον ὦρσαν ἐπιχθονίου βιότοιο*, l. 9), thus prompting unborn souls to enter into bodies. Other Erotes again oversee sexual reproduction within the material realm (lines 10–12). This process of incarnation may be a bad thing when seen from the perspective of the individual soul, yet the physical realm—because it is a copy of the intelligible realm—is in its way a good thing, and hence its eternal continuation adds to the total sum of good in the universe. The list is brought to a close with the following verse (l. 13):

πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐρωτοτόκου Κυθερείης

And they (the Erotes) all care for the works of the love-producing Kythereia

As has been noted, the passage calls to mind the opening of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (lines 1–6).[16] The poet asks the Muse to tell him about the 'works of Aphrodite, rich in gold' (*Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης*); he then continues that amongst the gods she 'arouses a sweet yearning' (*γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὦρσε*, l. 2) and overpowers 'the tribes of mortal men'[17] as well as birds, the animals on land, and those in the sea. The poet concludes his opening verses (l. 6) almost exactly as Proclus did:

πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐυστεφάνου Κυθερείης

Proclus' reworking of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* provides a good illustration of his ideas about the symbolic nature of Homeric

[16] As e.g. A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008), 80–1, observes ('Proclus clearly models his *Hy*. 4.13 on this line').

[17] *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 3: *ἐδαμάσσατο φῦλα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*: cf. Proclus *Hymn to Athena* (*H*. 7.8): Athena 'overcomes the god-fighting tribe of the earthly Giants' (*καὶ χθονίων δαμάσασα θεημάχα φῦλα Γιγάντων*). Note, though, that Proclus intends no erotic context (as Faulkner (2008), 77, rightly observes).

poetry and its spiritual function as described in the previous section. First, these lines bring out what a Neoplatonic allegorical reading of traditional mythology may look like. Aphrodite's parenthood of Eros is interpreted in metaphysical terms. According to the opening verses, quoted above, Aphrodite is the ultimate 'source'—*πηγή*, another Neoplatonic technical term to designate an ultimate metaphysical cause—of a series, *σειρά*. In this context, it is significant that Proclus introduces a plurality of Erotes rather than one single Eros. Because Aphrodite manifests herself at different levels of reality—both above the world of generation and within the world of generation—her *σειρά* is made up of a diversity of Erotes doing different things, ranging from helping human souls to ascend to promoting sexual reproduction. These are the famous *ἔργα Κυθερείης*, which thus include for Proclus far more than the instances of physical love to which the *Homeric Hymn* restricts the works of Aphrodite.

Secondly, Proclus' theories about inspired poetry throw an interesting light on his reasons for his appropriation of a *Homeric Hymn*. As we have seen, Proclus' notion of symbolism is broader than ours. For him, a symbol is not just a sign that represents something else, it is also a theurgical instrument that can be used to call forth the actual presence of the divinity that is represented by that symbol. Including bits of inspired, symbolical poetry in his hymn to Aphrodite may thus fulfil this function of attracting the divine assistance that Proclus prays for. Moreover, by enumerating the 'works of the love-producing Kythereia', Proclus shows that he too cares for them, and therefore fully deserves Aphrodite's support.

In short, the symbolical celebration of Aphrodite in the first part of the hymn lends powerful support to the requests that make up the second part of the hymn.[18] In keeping with Proclus' understanding of hymns as a form of *ἐπιστροφή*, he asks of Aphrodite that she may steer his life 'with her most righteous arrows (*δικαιοτάτοισι βελέμνοις*), while putting an end to the chilly impulse (*κρυόεσσαν ἐρωήν*) of unholy desires'. As we have seen in the first half, these arrows lead the soul upwards to the intelligible realm. Proclus thus requests of Aphrodite the sort of love that elevates the soul towards the intelligible and asks to be spared the sort of love that will chain him to the physical world.

[18] The prayer is introduced in line 14 with the words *ἀλλά, θεά*.

THE *HOMERIC HYMN TO ARES*

The previous analysis of Proclus' *Hymn to Aphrodite* provides a helpful background against which we can reconsider the allegedly Neoplatonic origins of the *Homeric Hymn to Ares*. We should resist, though, the tendency in the scholarly literature to reduce the discussion of the hymn to just this one issue. I shall therefore now first offer a brief discussion of the hymn on its own terms before addressing that particular question.

The hymn divides neatly into two halves. The first part (lines 1–9) is an invocation (κλῦθι, first word of l. 9) of Ares (Ἄρες, first word of the hymn) and consists of a long string of characterizations of Ares, mostly in the shape of epithets. The second half (lines 10–17) consists of a series of requests that the poetic 'I' addresses to Ares. Thus, of the traditional three parts that make up a hymn—invocation, argument, and prayer—the second part, in which the praying person argues why the deity should hear his prayer, is missing. The long string of epithets in combination with the absence of an explicit argument recalls the structure of the so-called *Orphic Hymns*.[19] This is a collection of hymns that were used by an Orphic community to celebrate their mysteries and that were composed somewhere during the first four centuries AD, perhaps during the second part of the third century.[20]

In line with the tradition, the invocation portrays Ares as a powerful, heavily armed warrior. The epithets that the poet uses bear testimony to his literary erudition. In addition to Thomas Gelzer's observation[21] that the poet is well versed in Homer and Homeric philology, it may be added that he is equally well informed about other poets. For example, he takes pleasure in rare adjectives that his predecessors had used in connection with Ares. Thus the adjective βρισάρματος (l. 1) occurs only twice in extant Greek literature, once in Pindar (said of Thebes, fr. 70b, 26 ed. Maehler) and once in Hesiod *The Shield* 441 (βρισάρματος . . . Ἄρης). The rare adjective χρυσεοπήληξ (l. 1)/χρυσοπήληξ is almost exclusively used in connection with either that other war deity, Athena (e.g. Callimachus, *Hymn*

[19] For the structure of the *Orphic Hymns*, see F. Graf, 'Serious Singing: The *Orphic Hymns* as Religious Texts', *Kernos* 22 (2009), 173.

[20] For the date of the *Orphic Hymns*, see A. N. Athanassakis, *The Orphic Hymns: Text, Translation and Notes* (Atlanta, GA, 1977), vii–viii; for the cultic setting of the hymns, see Graf (2009).

[21] T. Gelzer, 'Bemerkungen zum Homerischen Ares-Hymnus', *MH* 44 (1987), 162.

5.43; Proclus *Hymn* 7.4), or Ares, for example, Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes* 106 (*ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαῖμον*). The adjective *ὀβριμόθυμος* (l. 2) may be somewhat more popular, especially with the late epic poet Quintus, but it is significant that the celebrated epic poet Panyassis of the fifth century BC combines it with Ares (*ὀβριμόθυμος Ἄρης*; fr. 3.4 ed. Bernabé).

Commentators have rightly drawn attention to the positive presentation of Ares. This god is usually associated with the negative aspects of war, such as blind rage and bloodthirstiness, in contrast to Athena, who represents intelligent and effective warfare. The unpopularity of Ares is mirrored in the quasi-absence of temple cults in honour of Ares. In the words of Walter Burkert, 'Ares embodies everything that is hateful in war; the splendour of victory, Nike, is reserved for Athena.'[22] This hymn, however, hails him as the 'father of Nike, good at war' (*Νίκης εὐπολέμοιο πάτερ*, l. 4). Whereas Greek mythology makes Aphrodite Ares' companion in order to bridle his destructive violence, this hymn makes him into an 'ally of Themis' (*συναρωγὲ Θέμιστος*, l. 4). He uses his military might to defend his own community against outside aggressors: the poet calls him a 'wall of Olympus' (*ἕρκος Ὀλύμπου*, l. 3), 'lord to our enemies, leader of the most just of men' (*ἀντιβίοισι τύραννε, δικαιοτάτων ἀγὲ φωτῶν*, l. 5). The latter, somewhat puzzling, verse once again hints at the erudition of the poet. It is inspired, I suggest, by a line from Timotheos' *Persians*, *Ἄρης τύραννος· χρυσὸν Ἑλλὰς οὐ δέδοικε* (fr. 790 ed. Hordern), which expresses the Greeks' resolve to fight the Persians (*Ἄρης τύραννος*) at all costs, despite the Persian attempts at bribery.[23] The phrase became proverbial. It is quoted, for example, in Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus* (c. 14). When the Ionian Greeks, who had previously been exposed to the greed of Persian rulers and commanders, meet Agesilaus, they are favourably impressed by his self-restraint, simple lifestyle, and moderation (cf. 'the most just of men' of whom Ares is the leader, according to our hymn). This prompts many of the Ionians to cite the famous verse from Timotheus (*τὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου*).[24] One final element of the first half of the hymn that has

[22] W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 1985), 169.

[23] As explains J. H. Hordern, *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus* (Oxford, 2002), 130–1.

[24] For other occurrences of the verse, see Hordern (2002), 84.

caught the attention of modern commentators is the representation of Ares as one of the seven planets going around in his orbit (lines 6–8), which indicates that it was composed well after the classical period and hence much later than the other *Homeric Hymns*.[25]

Now that the poetic 'I' has invoked Ares, he prays to this planetary god to send down his gifts. Ares should give him strength so that he may drive away 'bitter badness' (*κακότητα πικρήν*, l. 12) from his head. This badness appears to be the sort of blind rage—'an impulse that deceives the soul' (*ψυχῆς ἀπατηλὸν ὁρμήν*, l. 13), 'the sharp power of spirit' (*θυμοῦ μένος ὀξύ*, l. 14)—that makes people enter into 'bloody conflict' (l. 15).[26] He prays that Ares may instead 'grant courage to abide by the innocuous principles of peace' (*θάρσος / δὸς μάκαρ, εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς*, lines 15–16), thus avoiding 'violent death'. Ares, then, the god invoked as *ὀβριμόθυμος* ('with a strong *thymos*', l. 2), may work in two opposite ways on the human *θυμός*: either he helps us to keep it in check, or he allows it to run wild with disastrous consequences.

Ever since the eighteenth century scholars have denied this poem its status as a *Homeric Hymn*, arguing that the hymn is a late addition to the original collection. Initially, our hymn was identified as another *Orphic Hymn* that, probably by accident, was inserted among the *Homeric Hymns*, when at some stage in the history of the transmission of the *Homeric Hymns* they were put together with those of Callimachus, Proclus, and the *Orphic Hymns* into one collection. In the wake of Martin West (1970), the identification of the *Hymn to Ares* as one of the *Orphic Hymns* has now been universally abandoned. West[27] advances three arguments against the identification of this hymn with the Orphic ones: (1) *Orphic Hymns* suppose a cultic setting, whereas this prayer is 'an intensely personal prayer'; (2) the collection of *Orphic Hymns*, which operates on the principle of one

[25] M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. Zweiter Band, Die Hellenistische und Römische Zeit* (Munich, 1974), 497.

[26] In this paraphrase of lines 11–17 I assume that the 'bitter badness' consists of blind rage. Note, however, that in older translations, this badness is interpreted as 'bitter cowardice' (H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (LCL) (London and Cambridge, MA, 1977)), 'lâcheté dégradante' (J. Humbert, *Homère Hymnes* (Paris, 1936)). These translations make the poet into something of an Aristotelian, praying to keep the virtuous middle in between the vices of too little and too much.

[27] M. L. West, 'The Eighth Homeric Hymn and Proclus', *CQ* 20 (1970), 300.

hymn per deity, already contains a hymn to Ares; (3) the *Orphic Hymns* do not represent the deities invoked as planetary gods. West himself argues that the *Hymn to Ares* is probably by Proclus on the assumption that the hymn should originate from somewhere within the hymns transmitted together in the manuscripts. Since the *Hymn to Ares* is evidently neither Orphic nor by Callimachus, it follows that it must therefore be by Proclus.[28] West's reason to postulate that our hymn must originate from within the corpora of hymns transmitted together in the manuscripts is based on the dual assumption that there already existed a collection of *Homeric Hymns* in late Hellenic times (i.e. before the *Hymn to Ares* was composed) and that it is impossible that someone inserted the *Hymn to Ares* on purpose into the corpus of *Homeric Hymns* at some later moment, since 'The hymns of Homer should by that time have been no more subject to additions than those of Callimachus.' West speculates that when a medieval copy of the collected hymns fell apart, Proclus' *Hymn* 8 accidentally ended up as *Homeric Hymn* 8.[29] In support of his attribution of the *Hymn to Ares* to Proclus he furthermore lists a series of parallels between the hymns by Proclus and the *Hymn to Ares*.

Against West's claim that the *Hymn to Ares* can only be ascribed to Proclus, it should be pointed out, first, that we do not know for sure what the Hellenic collection of *Homeric Hymns* looked like, and that we cannot exclude that some hymns were later added, especially the shorter ones.[30] If so, the possibility remains that the *Hymn to Ares* was inserted at some later time independent of the hymns transmitted together in the manuscripts. Another problem with West's hypothesis is that he has to assume that the relatively short *Hymn to Ares* was originally number eight of Proclus' *Hymns*. This, however, seems unlikely, since as I noted in the section on Proclus' *Hymns*, there is good reason to assume that the long Proclean *Hymns* 1 and 7 were intended as the opening and final hymns of a collection of otherwise shorter ones. Even if the *Hymn to Ares* is not necessarily by Proclus, it could still be his, provided that there exist good textual reasons for such an assumption. Unfortunately, contrary to what West suggests,

[28] The identification is repeated in M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 17.

[29] West (1970), 303.

[30] See, for example, the speculations by Faulkner (2011c), 179–80, about a Hellenistic collection of the longer *Homeric Hymns* into which the shorter sixth *Hymn to Aphrodite* was only inserted later.

the hymn does not contain any trace of Neoplatonic technical vocabulary that, as we have seen above in the case of his hymn to Aphrodite, is so abundant in Proclus' hymns. More particularly, as Thomas Gelzer has already observed,[31] the motive of ἐπιστροφή, that—as we noted above—is the driving force behind Proclus' hymns, is absent here.

Against West, Gelzer assumes that the collection of hymns (i.e. that of the Homeric and Orphic ones, together with those of Proclus and Callimachus) was the work of an Alexandrian Neoplatonist who inserted the *Hymn to Ares* into the *Homeric Hymns*.[32] While rejecting West's attribution of the hymn to Proclus, he argues that the hymn should be attributed to a Neoplatonist all the same. As its author, he suggests Porphyry or someone related to him. In order to corroborate his suggestion, Gelzer points to Plato's description of the twelve Olympian gods as planets in Plato's *Phaedrus*, as well as to some similarities between the hymn and doctrines contained in the *Timaeus*, such as the fact that both Plato and the poet locate rationality (*nous*) in the head. He associates this hymn with the military class that in Plato's *Politeia* is tasked with protecting the community against its internal and external enemies. Gelzer takes it that the enemies that besiege the poetic 'I' are entirely spiritual: they are the inner psychic forces that threaten to disturb the aforementioned rationality. Even the prayer to flee the dangers of the battlefield in the final line is taken to refer to the famous flight of the soul (Plato *Theaetetus* 176a–d) towards the intelligible realm.

But why would one assume a Neoplatonic background for this hymn at all? West did so because he reasoned that the hymn by necessity had to originate from one of the other sets of hymns included in the collection. Yet, as we have seen, this assumption is unwarranted. Moreover, we also noted that the hymn contains no typical Platonic or Neoplatonic expression whatsoever. A renewed comparison of our hymn to the *Orphic Hymns* in light of some recent research is illuminating. In order to make his case for Proclus' authorship of the *Homeric Hymn to Ares*, West points, among other things, to the fact that both the *Homeric Hymn to Ares*

[31] Gelzer (1987), 155; cf. van den Berg (2001), 6–7.

[32] Gelzer (1987) and T. Gelzer, 'Zum *Codex Mosquensis* und zur Sammlung der *Homerischen Hymnen*', *Hyperboreus* 1 (1994).

and Proclus' hymns contain prayers for the purity of the soul.[33] Thus the prayer (l. 13) that Ares may prevent 'deceptive impulse' (ἀπατηλὸν ὁρμήν) from clouding the judgement of the poet may be compared to Proclus' prayer to Aphrodite, quoted above, that she may put an end to the 'chilly impulse of unholy desires'. As, however, a quick perusal of the *Orphic Hymns* shows, the idea that a god may use its particular power for better or for worse is not unique to Proclus, but quite common in the *Orphic Hymns*. More particularly, as Fritz Graf observes, 'The initiates seem to live in a world that is filled with threats of madness.'[34] In the *Orphic Hymn to Eros*, for example, the Orphic community prays to Eros that he may 'ban from them vile and outlandish impulses' (φαύλους δ' ἐκτοπίους θ' ὁρμὰς ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε).[35]

On the positive side, the gods of the Orphic community are also dispensers of good gifts, including notably εἰρήνη. Thus, Nature (*Orphic Hymn* 10.30) and Poseidon (*Orphic Hymn* 17.10) are asked to grant both peace and health (εἰρήνην, ὑγίειαν ἄγειν), whereas Thunderbolt Zeus is asked for 'divine peace' (εἰρήνην θεόν, *Orphic Hymn* 19.23).[36] There is, therefore, no need to read this request for peace in spiritual terms, *pace* West and Gelzer. Peace, in the literal sense, is the reward for those who adhere to 'the painless laws of peace' (l. 14). Ares is after all, as we have seen, 'the ally of Themis' and the leader of 'the most just of men' against their enemies. Those who, because of blind fury, transgress against these laws, however, deserve to meet a bloody end on the battlefield (l. 17).

All of this is not to say that the *Hymn to Ares* is an *Orphic Hymn*, let alone that it was originally part of the book of *Orphic Hymns* that is found in the same manuscripts as the *Homeric Hymns*. West's argument that the *Orphic Hymns* already contain a *Hymn to Ares* and that duplications are avoided seems to me to be a valid one.[37] My point is rather that this comparison suggests that the *Hymn to Ares*, those of Proclus, and the *Orphic Hymns* are all expressions of the same sort of religious sentiment that is characteristic of late pagan antiquity. They all testify to a deeply felt fear of various types of

[33] West (1970), 302. [34] Graf (2009), 178.

[35] On the moral content of some demands in the *Orphic Hymns*, including the present one, see A.-F. Morand, *Études sur les Hymnes Orphiques* (Leiden, 2001), 46.

[36] On these prayers for peace, see the comments by Morand (2001), 56.

[37] All the more so if, as Graf (2009) has argued, the hymn book follows the progression of a nocturnal ritual.

madness and an intense longing for peace, and they adopt these themes so as to fit their own specific religious affiliations.

CONCLUSION

Proclus' *Hymns* and the *Hymn to Ares* both provide glimpses of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Late Antiquity, each in their own way. Proclus' adaptation of bits of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* was probably motivated by his theurgical practices and corresponding literary theories. It is perhaps telling that the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* provides the clearest case of Proclus' interest in the *Homeric Hymns*: Proclus hails from Lycia, which boasted a special relationship with Aphrodite. Proclus dedicates the fifth of his hymns to the Lycian Aphrodite, who to him is something of a patron goddess. Proclus' lack of interest in the other *Homeric Hymns*, on the other hand, is probably due to the fact that for him the ultimate specimens of inspired, symbolic poetry are Homer's epics. In his treatises on Homeric poetry in his *Commentary on the Republic*, he seeks to defend and interpret the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, whereas he remains silent about the *Homeric Hymns*.

As we have seen, Gelzer argued against West's suggestion that the *Homeric Hymn to Ares* belonged originally to the collected hymns by Proclus, and that only by accident did it become incorporated in the collection of *Homeric Hymns*. Whereas I do not share Gelzer's idea that the hymn is the work of another Neoplatonist, I agree with him that the *Hymn to Ares* was inserted in the collection on purpose in Late Antiquity.[38] Its inclusion not only points to a more positive view of Ares in Late Antiquity in comparison to earlier times, but is also an indication of the continuing appreciation of the *Homeric Hymns* in Late Antiquity. For, in order to include the hymn, someone must first have noted the absence of a hymn to Ares in the *Homeric Hymns* and subsequently concluded that this omission needed to be remedied. This interest of the anonymous poet of the *Hymn to Ares* in the *Homeric Hymns* is nothing exceptional. In Chapter 12, Gianfranco Agosti demonstrates how in Late Antiquity the *Homeric Hymns* were

[38] Gelzer (1987), 167; cf. T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936), 385.

a source of inspiration to many a poet, be they pagans or Christians, ranging from an otherwise unknown Egyptian student to the grand man of Late Antique poetry, Nonnus. One could well imagine that one of these many poets slipped his *Hymn to Ares* into the collection of *Homeric Hymns*, perhaps hoping that in this way he would secure the transmission of his precious poem. If so, his plan succeeded: the *Hymn to Ares* survived to testify both to Late Antique religious sentiments and to Late Antique literary life.

12

Praising the God(s)

Homeric Hymns *in Late Antiquity*

Gianfranco Agosti

The aim of this chapter is to study the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in some pagan and Christian poets of Late Antiquity.[1] The well-known view of Allen, Halliday, and Sikes that the *Hymns* were unpopular in antiquity, a view based on the paucity of direct quotations, is still recurrent and has not been disproved completely until now.[2] The *Homeric Hymns* are actually never *explicitly* mentioned in Greek authors of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries AD (the chronological range of my enquiry). However, it is also true that this does not necessarily mean that the *Hymns* were ignored: any reader of Late Antique poems experiences the occasional presence of phraseology and tags deriving from them, and in the (often large-scale)

[1] While the presence of the *Homeric Hymns* in Hellenistic poetry has been explored at large, even in the excellent recent editions of single hymns only a few pages are usually devoted to Late Antiquity: see e.g. N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 71–3; A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008), 52; A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 92–107. The recent collection of essays by R. Bouchon, P. Brillet-Dubois, and N. Le Meur-Weissman, *Hymnes de la Grèce antique: approches littéraires et historiques* (Lyon, 2012) does not contain any contribution on this aspect.

[2] T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936), lxiv–lxxxii: lxxviii and lxxx. But Richardson (1974), 73, rightly remarks: 'in comparison with Homer or Hesiod their influence is slight, but it can, I think, be traced throughout antiquity (this applies equally to the other major *Hymns*)'; see also Faulkner (2008), 50. The challenge of this book is exactly to modify such a common view: see Chapter 1.

commentaries produced in the last decades the *Hymns* are often quoted. But a closer look at these tags and phraseology is frequently disappointing, since they turn out to be mere instances of epic language reused by Late Antique poets, instead of actual quotations or borrowings from the *Hymns*. This is the case, to give an example, for many of the 'Parallelen aus den Hymni Homerici' in the *Metaphrase of the Psalms* (an epic Christian poem of the mid-fifth century[3]), assembled by Golega in his useful monograph.[4] From behind these parallels Homeric expressions or Hellenistic reuses of them often stand out, so that we hesitate in pointing out the exact source of the learned Christian poet.

Such uncertainty is somewhat typical and is perhaps the main reason why we still do not have any comprehensive overview of the presence of the *Homeric Hymns* in Late Antique poetry, despite the increasing interest in this topic in recent scholarship. Such an overview should be based on a different approach, looking for textual imitations and allusions,[5] and/or for similarities in narrative or in structure.[6] The following pages do not have any pretension of completeness, but I will lay out the main problems that a study of the *Hymns*' Late Antique afterlife should deal with, sketching the main outlines through selected samples.

Hymnic poetry is the most obvious genre where one would expect a significant presence of the *Homeric Hymns*. Generally speaking, however, it does not seem that they constituted a significant model for the rich hymnic production of Late Antiquity, and it is not a coincidence that they are not mentioned in the chapter on hymns by Menander Rhetor.[7] Their role, if any, was rather that of a helpful

[3] G. Agosti, 'Greek Poetry', in S. F. Johnson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2012), 367–8. For the sake of brevity, for further bibliographical references to Late Greek poets I usually refer to Agosti (2012), as well as to L. Miguélez Cavero, *Poems in Context. Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200–600 AD* (Berlin, 2008) in case of fragmentary texts.

[4] J. Golega, *Der homerische Psalter* (Ettal, 1960), 49. Andrew Faulkner is preparing a very welcome English translation of this poem.

[5] The *Hymns* have never been set apart from 'Homer' in Late Antiquity, so it is a priori probable that epic poets considered them simply as part of the epic legacy when borrowing tags and expressions. But to establish a direct influence (i.e. knowledge), expressions in the *Hymns* recurring also in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* are not helpful: we should look for secure quotations or imitations. Unfortunately, such a distinction is not always observed: see also Chapter 13 in this book, and Chapter 1, pp. 15–20.

[6] See subsection below on Adapting the *Hymn to Hermes*.

[7] The only brief mention of the *Hymns* in Menander occurs in the chapter on the Sminthiac oration, III p. 437.16, p. 206 R–W. Recent suggestions, for example, that the *Hymns* were a whole model for the *Carmina Arcana* by Gregory of Nazianzus, have

source for expressions of praise and for epithets, as it is the case in the *Hymns* by Proclus,[8] the only Late Antique corpus showing an influence of the *Homeric Hymns* (although the philosopher does not mention the *Homeric Hymns* in his philosophical works, he was surely familiar with them, as is demonstrated by the allusions and borrowings scattered throughout his poems).[9] This does not come as a surprise, since the style of late hymns is 'un-Homeric'[10] and rather close to that of the *Orphic Hymns*, that is in their accumulation of epithets, increasing presence of compound adjectives and adnominal participles, nominal style, and a greatly reduced space for narrative.[11]

been proven unlikely: see A. Faulkner, 'St Gregory of Nazianzus and the Classical Tradition: The *Poemata Arcana* Qua Hymns', *Philologus* 154 (2010), 86.

[8] Which have been thoroughly analysed by E. Vogt, *Procli hymni accedunt hymnorum fragmenta, epigrammata, scholia, fontium et locorum similium apparatus*, indices (Wiesbaden, 1957); H.-D. Saffrey, *Proclus: Hymnes et Prières* (Paris, 1994); and especially R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary* (Leiden, 2001). On the possible ideological background of Proclus' hymnic activity I expressed my own views in G. Agosti, 'Chanter les dieux dans la societé chrétienne: les Hymnes de Proclus dans le contexte culturel et religieux de leur temps', in N. Belayche and V. Pirenne (eds), *Fabriquer du divin. Constructions et ajustements de la représentation des dieux dans l'Antiquité* (Liège, 2015), 183–211.

[9] I leave aside the problem of the *Hymn to Ares*, composed by a Neoplatonic philosopher but not by Proclus, in my view. Proclus' authorship was proposed by M. L. West, 'The Eighth Homeric Hymn and Proclus', *CQ* 20 (1970), 300–4 (cf. A. Cameron, *apud* West (1970), 304: 'If Hom. *H.* viii had been transmitted as Procl. *H.* viii, I would certainly have accepted it as authentic without question. What is so striking in Hom. *H.* viii is the feeling of personal weakness and sinfulness that so characterise Proclus' hymns'); M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 17; *contra* T. Gelzer, 'Bemerkungen zum Homerischen Ares-Hymnus', *MH* 44 (1987), 160–7; van den Berg (2001), 6, 'the context of the requests in the hymns to Ares is very different from those in Proclus' hymns . . . the whole idea of *epistrophé* (the return of the fallen soul to its divine cause) is absent, whereas it is the core of Proclus' hymns'. Since we have only a small part of Proclus' hymnic production, however, we should consider the possibility that not all his hymns had the same structure. See also A. Faulkner, 'The Collection of *Homeric Hymns*: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 175–6.

[10] Definition by W. D. Furley in Faulkner (ed.), (2011), 206–31.

[11] This is not disproved by some exceptions, such as the hexametric hymns in the corpus of magical papyri. For a possible case of quotation, see *P.Berol.* inv 5026 (*PGM* II) 84 *ἱερῆς ἐισάκουσον ἀοιδῆς* ~ *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* 1.19 *ἱερῆς μεμνῆσθαι ἀοιδῆς*, discussed by L. Tissi, 'Edizione critica, traduzione e commento dell'inno magico 11 Pr. (*PGM* II 81–101)', *APF* 60 (2014), 74 n. 23. On the *Orphic Hymns*, see G. Ricciardelli, *Inni orfici* (Milan, 2000); A.-F. Morand, *Études sur les Hymnes Orphiques* (Leiden, 2001); and M.-Ch. Fayant, *Hymnes Orphiques* (Paris, 2014) remarking that they were read both as 'texte orphique' and as 'répertoire d'épithètes divines ou de références mythologiques rares' (xxxv). Incidentally, we should remind

AN OVERALL VIEW

When we turn our attention to epic poetry of the third century, the overall picture is not much different. It is impossible to doubt that a learned poet like Quintus of Smyrna knew the *Hymns*, but as a matter of fact the textual borrowings in the *Posthomerica* are extremely rare.[12] The first representative of the 'modern style' in Late poetry, Triphiodorus (third century AD), does not seem to use the *Homeric Hymns*,[13] probably according to a deliberate stylistic choice, no hymnic passages being inserted in the *Sack of Troy*.

It is in the fifth century that the situation appears radically different. Nonnus of Panopolis, the major protagonist of the 'renaissance' of epic poetry in Late Antiquity, author of the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase of John's Gospel* (first half of the fifth century),[14] was rather familiar with the *Hymns* and often hints at them.[15] Interestingly, we do not find such allusions where expected: in the *Dionysiaca* there are actually some embedded hymns,[16] but they do not exhibit particular relations to the archaic model and are indeed closer to Hellenistic or Imperial hymns. Apart from the reuse of tags or actual quotations, Nonnus' knowledge of the *Homeric Hymns* shines through narrative passages, as for example the description of cosmic desolation caused by Aphrodite's passion for weaving (instead of her usual occupations: *Dion.* 24.272–320) inspired by a passage from the

ourselves that we surely lost most of the hymnic production: e.g. in a metrical inscription from Pisidia (*I.Pisid.Cent.* 32; Kremna, second century AD) a certain Chrysippos is celebrated as the author of a hymn to Artemis: lines 14–15 *Ἄρτεμιν ἀείσας θ' ὡς οὐ πάρος ἄλλος ἐν ὕμνοις | ἄσπετον ἐκ βίβλων εὖχος ἔδωκε πάτρᾳ*, 'Celebrating Artemis in song as no one else had previously in hymns, he bestowed upon his fatherland an endless pride from his books.'

[12] See F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris, 1959), 186, quoting *h.Herm.* 131 for the phrase *καὶ ἀθανάτοις περ ἐοῦσιν*. For *h.Herm.* 415 and Q.S. 8.29, see Vergados (2013), 500 and C. A. Maciver, *Quintus Smyrnaeus*' Posthomerica. *Engaging Homer in Late Antiquity* (Leiden and New York, 2012), 184.

[13] Miguélez Cavero (2008), 156.

[14] Agosti (2012), 367; D. Accorinti, 'Nonnos von Panopolis', *RAC* 25 (2013), 1107–1129.

[15] The relevant quotations/allusions are scrupulously reported in the commentaries of the Budé edition. See also Faulkner (2008), 52 on *Dion.* 11.296 and the *Hymn to Aphrodite*; Vergados (2013), 107–8 on *Dion.* 1.337–40 and *Hymn to Hermes*.

[16] F. Braun, *Hymnen bei Nonnos des Panopolis* (Diss., Königsberg, 1915) and W. Fauth, *Helios Megistos. Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1995).

Hymn to Demeter 302–13;[17] or the history of the Tyrrhenian pirates (45.105–69) that appears to be a conscious variation on the *Hymn to Dionysus*.[18]

Just a few years after Proclus' death, in the age of Anastasius, Musaeus, author of the epyllion *Hero and Leander*, is credited with the knowledge at least of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.[19] Colluthus was familiar with the *Hymns* as well,[20] whereas Christodorus of Coptos does not show any sure quotations from them.[21] Some decades before (probably in the middle of the fifth century, but the exact date is uncertain) the *Orphic Argonautica*, a 'revised abstract' of Apollonius of Rhodes' poem shows a good acquaintance with the *Homeric Hymns*.[22] Imitations and borrowings are scrupulously listed in the rich and reliable *apparatus locorum similium* of Vian's edition.[23] To give just one example of his

[17] N. Hopkinson, *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques. Chants XX–XXIV* (Paris, 1994), 161.

[18] F. Vian, *L'épopée posthomérique* (Alessandria, 2005), 600–1; B. Simon, *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques. Chants XLIV–XLVI* (Paris, 2004), 65–9; D. Accorinti, *Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache. Canti 40–48* (Milan, 2004), 417–25. As for the *Paraphrase*, Nonnus sometimes reuses tags from *Homeric Hymns*, building on their model its own formularity, as e.g. *Hymn to Demeter* 355 θυώδεος ἔνδοθι νηοῦ, employed several times with slight variations (see G. Agosti, *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di San Giovanni. Canto Quinto* (Florence, 2003), 398, on *P.* 5.47).

[19] See T. Gelzer, 'Musaeus, *Hero and Leander*', in C. A. Trypanis, T. Gelzer, and C. Whitman (eds), *Callimachus*, text, translations, and notes by C. A. Trypanis; *Musaeus*, introduction, text, and notes by T. Gelzer, with an English translation by C. Whitman (London and Cambridge, MA, 1975), 298 n. *d*, based on Kost's commentary; Faulkner (2008), 52; S. D. Olson, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and Related Texts* (Berlin, 2012), 26–7 (at p. 27 the author deals also with a couple of passages of Q.S., dated by him to the fourth century, and Nonnus, dated to the fourth/fifth [*sic*]).

[20] See the commentary by E. Livrea, *Colluto. Il ratto di Elena* (Bologna, 1968), *passim*; and now C. Cadau, *Studies in Colluthus'* Abduction of Helen (Leiden and Boston, 2015), *passim*.

[21] The only case cautiously adduced by F. Tissoni, *Cristodoro. Un'introduzione e un commento* (Alessandria, 2000), 67 (l. 155 and *Hymn to Demeter* 436), is quite doubtful.

[22] F. Vian, *Les Argonautiques Orphiques* (Paris, 1987), 46.

[23] To which one should now add the exceptional case of lines 1199–1202, where the poet even borrows four consecutive lines from the first *Hymn to Dionysus*, as *P.Gen.* 3.118 (MP^3 1231.11, of second–first centuries BC) recently revealed: see M. L. West, 'The First Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus*', in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 42. Other parallels are listed in the PhD dissertation by V. Cecchetti, *Studi sulle* Argonautiche Orfiche, University of Florence (2015).

method, the poet re-employs the beginning of the *Hymn to Hermes* in three different places, in a sort of 'diffraction': in 137 *Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα* (= *Hymn* 2a*), in 119 *ὃν τέκεν Ἀλκμήνη Ζηνὶ Κρονίωνι μιγεῖσα* (*Hymn* 3–4 *ὃν τέκε Μαῖα | νύμφη ἐυπλόκαμος Διὸς ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα*), and in 198 *ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου* (= *Hymn* 2b*), referring each time to a different god/hero: Hermes, Heracles, and Ankaios respectively. From Vian's invaluable list it is clear that the author of the *Argonautica* knew all the major *Hymns* and at least some of the shorter ones. Since he was probably of Egyptian origin,[24] from his and Nonnus' demonstrable knowledge of the *Hymns* we can reasonably infer that from the mid-fifth century onwards in Egypt a corpus of the *Hymns* not too far from the collection we have in medieval manuscripts was already available.[25] Such an assumption seems to be confirmed by Colluthus, who came from Lycopolis.[26]

ADAPTING THE *HYMN TO HERMES*

So, we can draw as a first conclusion that the *Homeric Hymns* were read and imitated by later epic poets at least from Nonnus onwards and that they were considered a significant part of the 'Homeric' heritage. One wonders if this heritage was simply considered to be a useful source of literary expression, or if the *Homeric Hymns* were also considered to be a model for religious poetry. For example, did

[24] Vian (1987), 12.

[25] I suspect that a thorough study of the imitations in the *Orphic Argonautica* could also give new suggestions for the formation of the collection of *Homeric Hymns* we have and even offer a different explanation of the presence of the 'orphic' poem in the hymnic corpus.

[26] Fifty years later, *Homeric Hymns* were perhaps still read in Egypt. Dioscorus of Aphrodito (*c.*520–85: J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle. La bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (Cairo, 1999); Agosti (2012), 370), a local administrator and notary who was fluent in both Coptic and Greek, composed many circumstance poems, written in a flawed and sometimes obscure language and style. Such poems followed usually his prose petitions, and are substantially a patchwork of epic borrowings (from Nonnus, Homer, the *Met. Pss.*), combined to express a repetitive group of ideas and images. In some cases Dioscorus employs phraseology from the *Homeric Hymns*. Although not all the borrowings of the list dressed by Fournet (1999), 299–301, have the same weight, it is still likely that Dioscorus had some familiarity with the *Hymns*. It is clear that he considered them part of the 'Homeric code' without further ado.

they have any influence on Christian classicizing poetry? A possible answer to these questions is provided by a case study, the afterlife of the *Hymn to Hermes*.

Among the major hymns the *Hymn to Hermes* has enjoyed a certain success in later literature, especially in the Imperial period, as Athanassios Vergados has convincingly pointed out in his recent survey.[27] In later poetry, however, it is not so easy to assess a real dependence on the *Hymn*, mainly when we find just isolated epithets of Hermes, for which it remains to be ascertained whether they are actual quotations. The case of an encomiastic poem of twenty-two hexameters in honour of an Egyptian gymnasiarch, Theon (*P.Oxy.* 7.1015, third century AD),[28] probably composed by a student participating in a local festival, is typical. Hermes is invoked as the god of learning and poetry (2 *Ἑρμεία . . . ἀοιδοπόλῳ δ' ἐπαρήγοις*), in order to celebrate the benefactor Theon. So, the allusion to the invention of the lyre (lines 3–5) is perfectly suited to the context: but the diction does not show any clear borrowing from the *Homeric Hymn*. It is significant that even the god's epithets (*μουσοπόλος*, *νόμιος*, *ἐναγώνιος*, *γυμνασίων ἐπίσκοπος*) do not derive from the *Hymn*:[29] strictly speaking, for *μουσοπόλος* one could think of *Hymn to Hermes* 430 *μητέρα Μουσάων, ἣ γὰρ λάχε Μαιάδος υἱόν*, but it is far from certain.[30] Nevertheless, line 20 contains a possible reminiscence: *Μουσάων σοφίης δεδαημένοι*, close to *Hymn to Hermes* 483 *τέχνῃ καὶ σοφίῃ δεδαημένος*, later imitated in the astrological poem by Maximus (452 *τέχνην ἣ σοφίην δεδαήμεναι*[31]) and in the *Orphic Argonautica* (126 *δέδαεν . . . τέχνῃ*). If this is not due to a lost intermediate, it is tempting to remark that while in the previous lines the poet reused phraseology close to that of the *Orphic Hymns*, that is to the hymnic mode of his age, he preferred to close his poem in a particular way by quoting a prestigious ancient model. The imitation is not just a reuse of a tag, but is aware of the original context, where Hermes extols the

[27] Vergados (2013), 106–10.

[28] *GDRK* 16 (MP^3 1847; LDAB 5218); see Miguélez Cavero (2008), 43 n° 15; fine analysis in Vergados (2013), 108. The papyrus is an autograph.

[29] They appear rather in the *Orphic Hymns* (28.2 *ἐναγώνιε*, and 5 *γυμνάσιν ὃς χαίρεις*; and 11.1 *νόμιος*, of Pan: see Ricciardelli (2000), and Fayant (2014) *ad loc.*).

[30] In any case, see *TAM* III 1.35 (Pisidia, imperial age).

[31] A poet of the fourth century close to the Neoplatonic milieu of emperor Julian, see Agosti (2012), 365. He knew the *Homeric Hymns*, as is shown in the new edition by Nicola Zito, Maxime, *Des Initiatives* (Paris, 2016).

skilled lyre-player: with a certain flattering exaggeration the gymnasiarch becomes the living example of the ideal model depicted in the *Homeric Hymn*.[32]

All this is the simple result of school education. Hermes as the god of culture appears also in one of the epigrams *dipinti* on a wall of the newly discovered school of the fourth century from Trimithis in the Dakhleh Oasis.[33] The teacher painted in red ink on plaster some epigrams with lectional signs and accentuations, surely for didactic purposes.[34] The content is quite interesting, because these epigrams are exhortations to students to work hard in order to reach the 'full summit of knowledge', a common expression to denote all-round culture in Late Antiquity. In the first epigram the teacher wishes that students (col. I lines 7–12):

> π̣[άντα]c μουcᾶων ἔργα μελιχρὰ μαθεῖν·
> cυν πάcη ι̣'c Χαρίτεccι· και <u>Ερμῆι Μαιάδος υἱεῖ</u>
> ρητορικῆc coφίης ἄκρον ελόντα[c] ὅλον·
>
> All [of you] learn the sweet works of the Muses, together with all the Graces and Hermes, the son of Maia, attaining the full height of rhetorical learning.

Although the expression *Ἑρμῆι Μαιάδος υἱεῖ* has its origin in archaic epic,[35] it is distinctive of the *Hymn to Hermes* 1 *Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦcα Διὸc καὶ Μαιάδοc υἱόν*, and occurs thirteen more times (and twice in the form *Μαίης . . . υἱός*).[36] So, it is tempting to suggest that the teacher wanted to reuse exactly the definition of the *Homeric Hymn*, even though we cannot establish this with certainty. Moreover, the fact that here and in the aforementioned encomium for the gymnasiarch there are possible reuses of the *Hymns to Hermes* and

[32] The author of the encomium had done his studies: in the first line he quotes A.R. 1.22.

[33] See R. Cribiore, P. Davoli, and D. M. Ratzan, 'A Teacher's Dipinto from Trimithis (Dakhleh Oasis)', *JRA* 21 (2008).

[34] And for a performative reading of the epigrams. On similar signs, having the same function, in some Homer papyri, see P. Parsons, 'Homer: Papyri and Performance', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds), *I papiri omerici. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi* (Florence, 2012).

[35] *Od.* 14.435 *Νύμφηcι καὶ Ἑρμῇ, Μαιάδοc υἷι*; Hes. fr. 217.2 M–W *cὺν Ἑρμῇ, Μαιάδοc υἱεῖ*.

[36] Later it is used in a funerary inscription from Itanos (Crete), dated to third–second century BC, *GVI* 1249 = *I.Cr.* III iv.37 v.9 Guarducci *Ἑρμῆ Μαιάδος υἱέ*, and in the *Orphic Hymn* 28.1 *Κλῦθί μου, Ἑρμεία, Διὸc ἄγγελε, Μαιάδοc υἱέ*.

that Hermes functioned as god (and symbol) of education and culture could suggest that the hymn was read at school, probably as part of the 'Homeric' poetry.

Some decades later, we find allusions to the *Hymn to Hermes* all over Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, in accordance with the major role Hermes has in the poem as a saviour and protector.[37] Interestingly, Nonnus combines the traditional image of Hermes as god of learning with that of Hermes-Logios of the Hermetic tradition, playing in a sophisticated way with the literary and exegetical tradition. A good example of his method is the passage in book 35, where Hermes, disguised as Dionysus, saves the Bacchants' prisoners in the city of Indians (35.227–41, quoted here from l. 234 onwards):

> στοιχηδὸν ἀκοιμήτοιςιν ὀπωπαῖς
> νήδυμον ὕπνον ἔχευεν ἑῇ πανθελγέι ῥάβδῳ
> φώριος Ἑρμείας, πρόμος ἔννυχος· ἐξαπίνης δέ
> Ἰνδοῖς μὲν ζόφος ἦεν, ἀθηήτοιςι δὲ Βάκχαις
> φέγγος ἔην ἀδόκητον· ἀδουπήτων δὲ γυναικῶν
> λάθριος ἡγεμόνευε δι' ἄστεος ἄπτερος Ἑρμῆς·
> χειρὶ δὲ θεσπεσίῃ βριαρὴν κληῖδα πυλάων
> ἡλιάδων ὤιξε, καὶ ἠέλιος πέλε Βάκχαις.
>
> Clandestine Hermes, champion in the night, poured sweet sleep upon the guards' wakeful eyes, one after the other, with his all-beguiling rod. Immediately the Indians were in darkness, but there was an unexpected light for the unseen Bacchants. Hermes, without wings, secretly led the silent women through the city. With his divine hand he opened the strong lock of the eastern gates and the Bacchants saw the sun.

Nonnus relies on both the *Odyssey* and the *Hymn to Hermes*: the image of the wand comes from the well-known passage in *Od*. 24.2–4, where Hermes leads the suitors' souls to Hades (ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ | καλὴν χρυσείην, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει, / ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει), and the opening of the lock of the city

[37] Starting from the first book of the *Dionysiaca* (1.337–40), as pointed out by F. Vian, *Les Dionysiaques. Tome I: Chants 1 et II* (Paris, 1976), 156, and fully developed by Vergados (2013), 107–8. For an overall view of Hermes' role in the *Dion*., see M.-Ch. Fayant, 'Hermes dans les *Dionysiaques* de Nonnos de Panopolis', *REG* 111 (1998); examining the depiction of pagan gods in the poem L. Miguélez Cavero, 'The Appearance of Gods in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus', *GRBS* 49 (2009), 573, points out significantly that Hermes 'is the only divinity who is not ridiculed in the *Dionysiaca*'.

gates is inspired by the passage of the *Hymn* depicting Hermes passing through the keyhole of his mother's dwelling (145–9)[38]:

> Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς 145
> δοχμωθεὶς μεγάροιο διὰ κλῄϊθρον ἔδυνεν
> αὔρῃ ὀπωρινῇ ἐναλίγκιος ἠὔτ' ὀμίχλῃ.
> ἰθύσας δ' ἄντρου ἐξίκετο πίονα νηὸν
> ἦκα ποσὶ προβιβὼν· οὐ γὰρ κτύπεν ὥς περ ἐπ' οὔδει.
>
> Hermes, the quick runner of Zeus, slipped sideways through the keyhole of the house like an autumnal wind, as like mist. Going straight through the cave he reached the rich temple, moving softly with his feet. He made no noise as normally upon a floor.

The noiseless walking of Hermes in the *Hymn* is transferred to the Bacchants in Nonnus (ἀδουπήτων) and the Homeric adjective ἄπτερος, much discussed by the grammarians ('unwinged, quick, noiseless'), 'explains' ἦκα ποσὶ προβιβὼν. Nonnus was very fond of this passage of the *Hymn to Hermes*, hinting at it again in 3.409–12 (Hermes entering Cadmus' palace unnoticed), and also in his Christian poem, the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*, when he describes the epiphany of Christ to the disciples (20.117–22 = Io. 20–6):[39]

> ἀπροϊδὴς δέ
> Χριστὸς ἔσω μεγάροιο θορὼν ἀνεμώδεϊ ταρσῷ
> ἄπτερος, ἀγχιθέων ἀνεφαίνετο μέσσος ἑταίρων· 120
> καὶ τριτάτῃ παλίνορσος ἀνίαχεν ἠθάδι φωνῇ·
> εἰρήνη πάλιν ὔμμι.
>
> Unforeseen, Christ jumped wingless into the house with wind-swift feet and appeared in the midst of his disciples. Once more and for a third time he shouted with his familiar voice, 'peace again be to you'.

In this last passage the poet was well aware of the Christian exegetic tradition establishing a parallelism between Hermes and Christ, dating back to Justinus, *Apol.* 21 (second century).[40] Adopting a typical literary technique of Christian poetry, *usurpation* (attributing the

[38] See Vergados (2013), 353–6.

[39] The passage is discussed by D. Accorinti, 'Hermes e Cristo in Nonno', *Prometheus* 21 (1995), 26.

[40] Accorinti (1995); Agosti (2003), 342 with further bibliography; Accorinti (2013), 1125–6. For Hermes in Christian literature after the Classical account by H. Rahner, *Miti greci nell'interpretazione Cristiana* (Bologna, 1980), 205–47, see also P. Stockmeier, 'Hermes', *RLAC* 14 (1988), 776–80; C. Moreschini, *Hermes Christianus. The Intermingling of Hermetic Piety and Christian Thought* (Turnhout, 2011), ch. II.

features of pagan gods to the Christian God[41]), in order to show the superiority of Christianity, Nonnus draws this parallelism in the *Paraphrase*. For example, in book 5 he refers to Christ with the epithet διάκτορος (intended both as 'messenger' and 'servant': *Par.* 5.22), and he transfers to the Resurrection of the Dead the Homeric passage on Hermes' staff (*Par.* 5.81 = *Od.* 24.4).[42] In the Christian poem the reuse of passages of the *Hymn* is conveyed by the allegorical and typological interpretation of the pagan god.

In Egypt, a century earlier, the *Homeric Hymn* had been adapted to the figure of Hermes-Logos by the author of a fragmentary poem of the mid-fourth century, transmitted in a papyrus codex of the beginning of the fifth century.[43] Usually known as the 'Strasbourg Cosmogony' after its first editor, Richard Reitzenstein, this poem is actually a fragment of the *patria* of Hermopolis Magna, that is a poem celebrating the mythical origins of the city. The last editor, Daria Gigli Piccardi, cautiously proposed its attribution to the poet Andronicus of Hermopolis, a curial of the town who had a wide reputation in the Empire.[44] The history of Hermopolis is linked to the origins of the universe (as is common in this genre of poems): Zeus creates Hermes-Nous from his own person (1r [ἐ]ξερύcac, 'having drawn out'), assigning to him the task of creating the universe and bringing to an end the conflict of the elements. After separating the elements Hermes, accompanied by his son, the Logos (6v cὺν τῷ γε Λόγος κίεν ἀγλαὸc υἱόc), looks for the best place on the earth to found the first city to be inhabited by men. Eventually, Egypt is chosen, in the temperate zone, where he founds Hermopolis. The poem draws upon a wide range of literary and philosophical sources, ranging from the tradition of epic cosmogony, to Eratosthenes' *Hermes*, to Stoicism and Platonism, and especially to late Hermetic thinking.[45] The author surely

[41] G. Agosti, 'Usurper, imiter, communiquer: le dialogue interculturel dans la poésie grecque chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive', in N. Belayche and J.-D. Dubois (eds), *L'oiseau et le poisson. Cohabitations religieuses dans les mondes grec et romain* (Paris, 2011), 275–99.

[42] See Agosti (2003), 446–7. For earlier uses and meanings of διάκτορος, see Faulkner (2008), 217–18 on *Hymn to Aphrodite* 147; Vergados (2013), 487 on *Hymn to Hermes* 392.

[43] *P.Strassb.* inv. gr. 481 (=1848 MP^3).

[44] D. Gigli Piccardi, *La 'Cosmogonia di Strasburgo'* (Florence, 1990), whose critical text is here adopted. See also Miguélez Cavero (2008), 63–5 n. 41; and on Andronicus *PLRE* I 65–6, s.v. *Andronicus 5* (his *floruit* was between AD 350 and 380).

[45] A detailed analysis of them is offered by Gigli Piccardi (1990), 30–44.

knew the *Hymn to Hermes*, as there are evident allusions, some of which have already been discussed by the editors, such as 4r δῶκε δέ οἱ ῥάβδον χρυσέην ~ *Hymn to Hermes* 529–30 δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον | χρυσείην, or 6–7v δι' ἠέρος ἔστιχεν Ἑρμῆς | οὐκ οἷος, σὺν τῷ γε Λόγος κίεν ἀγλαὸς υἱός ~ 314 Ἑρμῆς τ' οἰοπόλος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱός.[46] What has passed unnoticed in the latter occurrence is the fact the poet preferred the meaning of 'solitary' for the οἰοπόλος of the model, instead of the alternative sense known to the ancient exegetical tradition, 'tending sheep'.[47]

These inferences can, in my view, be taken a step further. It seems that the author had in mind a precise section of the *Hymn to Hermes*. If we consider lines 1–14r:

[ἐ]ξερύσας τινὰ μοῖραν ἑῆς πολυειδέος ἀλ̣ε̣[ῆς·]
κεῖνος δὴ Νόος ἐστὶν ἐμὸς πατρώιος Ἑρμῆς.
τῷ μάλα πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε καμεῖν περικαλλέα κ[όσμον,]
δῶκε δέ οἱ ῥάβδον χρυσέην διακοσμήτειραν,
πάσης εὐέργοιο νοήμονα μητέρα τέχνης. 5
σὺν τῇ ἔβη Διὸς υἱὸς ἑοῦ γεν[ε]τῆρος ἐφετμὴν
πᾶσαν ἵνα κρήνειεν, ὁ δ' ἥμενος ἐν περιωπῇ
τέρπετο κυδαλίμου θηεύμενος υἱέος ἔργα.
αὐτὰρ ὁ θεσπεσίην φορέων τετράζυγα μορφήν
ὀφθαλμοὺ[ς κάμ]μ̣υ̣ε̣ κ[εδαζ]ομένης ὑπὲρ αἴγλης 10
[].ι..ρ. σεῖπέ τε μῦθον·
[] . . . ι πρόμος αἰθέρος. [. . .] αὐτός
[λη]γέμεναι πρ̣ο̣τέρης ἔριδος στοιχε̣ῖ̣[α
[ἁρ]μ̣ονίῃ πείθεσθε, διακρίνεσθε δ[ὲ νεῖκος.]

Having drawn out a portion of his diverse power; he is Hermes-Nous of my father. He commanded him in many different ways to make a beautiful universe, and gave him a golden staff to order it, the wise mother of all good art. With this, the son of Zeus set out to complete the full command of his father. Zeus, sitting in his lookout, took pleasure in watching the deeds of his glorious son. He, bearing a fourfold divine shape, closed his eyes on account of the light . . . he spoke this word . . . ethereal chief . . . himself to stop the elements of earlier strife . . . obey harmony and divide quarrel.

[46] See Gigli Piccardi (1990), 94 and 147 respectively; Vergados (2013), 560.

[47] For a detailed analysis of the exegetical tradition, see Livrea (1968), 68–9 on Coll. 15 and Vergados (2013), 449, who concludes that in the *Homeric Hymn* 'either meaning would suit Hermes'.

It is likely that the poet makes allusion to the short 'cosmogony' sung by Hermes to placate Apollo (*h.Herm.* 427–38):[48]

> He fulfilled the immortal gods [κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεούς][49] and the black earth, how they first came about and how each obtained his lot. Of the gods he first celebrated in song Memory (Mnemosyne), mother of the Muses, for she had received the son of Maia in her share. The glorious son of Zeus celebrated the other gods according to their age and as they were born, telling everything as is fitting [πάντ' ἐνέπων κατὰ κόσμον] while playing the lyre upon his arm. A helpless desire took hold of Apollo's heart and he addressed him with winged words: 'Cow-killer, schemer, toiler, companion of the feast, this thing you have invented is equal to my fifty oxen! I think then that I shall still divide things peacefully [ἡσυχίως καὶ ἔπειτα διακρινέεσθαι ὀΐω].'

Furthermore, lines 3–7 allude also to the *Hymn to Hermes* 529–32 (Apollo gives the wand to Hermes) in a more elaborate way than is usually recognized:[50]

> ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον 530
> χρυσείην τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἥ σε φυλάξει
> πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα θε<μ>οὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων
> τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς.
>
> I will give you a beautiful rod of riches and fortune, made of gold and in three sections, which will protect you from harm, fulfilling all the precepts of both words and deeds, the good ones which I claim to have learnt from the voice of Zeus.

The passage of *P.Strassburg* inv. gr. 481 shows a refined technique of adapting the literary source: *Hymn to Hermes* 530–1 is taken as a whole, but the adjective περικαλλέα is transferred to κ[όσμον] in the previous line (lines 3–4 περικαλλέα κ[όσμον,] | δῶκε δέ οἱ ῥάβδον χρυσέην διακοσμήτειραν); διακοσμήτειραν recalls *Hymn to Hermes* 433 κατὰ κόσμον ('according to a proper order'); lines 6–7 ἐφετμὴν | πᾶσαν ἵνα κρήνειεν adapt 530 πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα (and

[48] N. J. Richardson, *Three Homeric Hymns: Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite* (Cambridge, 2010), 206; Vergados (2013), 509–17.

[49] I prefer this interpretation of the verb (see Vergados (2013), 508); West (2003) translates it as 'spoke authoritatively'.

[50] I have already remarked this point, without developing it further, in my review of Gigli Piccardi (1990): see G. Agosti, 'La Cosmogonia di Strasburgo', *A&R* 38 (1994), 31; and Vergados (2013), 560. On Ludwich's emendation θεμοὺς at *h.Herm.* 531, see Vergados (2013), 559.

427 κραίνων[51]), whereas 532–3 ἔργων | τῶν ἀγαθῶν became εὐέργοιο at l. 5. Finally, l. 14 διακρίνεσθε alludes to 438 ἠσυχίως καὶ ἔπειτα διακρινέεσθαι, which is a clue to understanding the general meaning of the cosmogony, based on the διάκρισις, the 'separation of elements' that is a peaceful composition of the νεῖκος. Therefore, the first part of *P.Strassburg* inv. gr. 481 reminds one, in a discreet but perceptible way, of the model of the cosmogonic song in the *Hymn to Hermes*. The *Homeric Hymn* becomes a sort of authoritative 'holy text' rewritten and paraphrased by the author of the *patria* of Hermopolis, who probably interpreted the 'Homeric' passage as a physical allegory.[52]

The author of the *patria* of Hermopolis was not isolated in reusing the *Hymn to Hermes* ideologically. In the fourth century, when the religious conflict extended to literary form and when classical *paideia* became a language that both Pagans and Christians claimed to use in the proper way, Hermes acquired great importance as a symbol, or indeed as a true god of learning, and on account of his prerogative as intermediary between the divine and the human worlds. In pagan poetry the spiritualization of Hermes, considered to be God of recondite wisdom, is evident in the Orphic *Lithica*, a didactic poem on the magic power of stones (second half of the fourth century), whose author was involved in the Neoplatonic milieu of Maximus of Ephesus, the teacher of the emperor Julian.[53] The poem has a long and sophisticated prologue, comprising two sections: a first devoted to Hermes and his Revelation (lines 1–90), and a second framing the exposition of stones' powers in a bucolic-mystic setting (91–171). The poem opens by announcing the gifts of 'evil-averting' Zeus, brought to mortals by Hermes:

> Δῶρον ἀλεξικάκοιο Διὸς θνητοῖσιν ὀπάσσαι
> κεκλόμενος Μαίης ἐριούνιος ἦλθε κομίζων
> υἱός, ὅπως ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀιζύος ἀτρεκὲς ἄλκαρ

[51] The exact meaning is controversial; see Richardson (2010), 206 and Vergados (2013), 508, and above n. 49.

[52] Cosmogonic poetry was a popular subject in the fourth century and the poem in *P.Strassburg* inv. gr. 481 had a readership, at least in Egypt: Nonnus surely knew and imitated it (Gigli Piccardi (1990), 52–3). It has been suggested that already Gregory of Nazianzus had some knowledge of it, since in his poem 1.2.1.58ff. (*PG* 37.526ff.), which embodies a poetical account of the book of Genesis, he shows some similarities in diction with it, but none of the parallels are really convincing.

[53] Agosti (2012), 365, 390. Text by Schamp, in R. Halleux and J. Schamp, *Les Lapidaires Grecs. Lapidaires Orphique, Kérygmes, Lapidaire d'Orphée, Socrate et Denys, Lapidaire Nautique, Damigéron-Évax* (Paris, 2003).

The swift running son of Maia and evil-averting Zeus came when called, bearing a gift to bestow to mortals, in order that we should have a sure defence against misery.

Lines 2–3 combine *Hymn to Hermes* 3 ἐριούνιον ὃν τέκε Μαῖα, 28 Διὸς δ'ἐριούνιος υἱὸς, and 407 (Ἑρμῆς) ἦ[λθ]'ἐριούνιος (on this line see further on in this section). The 'sure defence against misery' is given to mortals in Hermes' cave (lines 18–22):

ὃν δέ κεν ἀνθρώπων πεπνυμένον ἦτορ ἀνώγῃ
ἐς πολυήρατον ἄντρον ἐςελθέμεν Ἑρμείαο,
ἔνθ' ὅγε παντοίων ἀγαθῶν κατέθηκεν ὅμιλον,
αἶψά κεν ἀμφοτέρῃςιν ὀνείατα πολλὰ κομίζων
οἴκαδ' ἀποστείχοι προφυγὼν πολύδακρυν ὀιζύν.

Whomever his wise heart urges to enter into the lovely cave of Hermes, where he has deposited a pile of everything good, immediately he will return homeward bearing many presents in both hands, avoiding tearful misery.

The treasures in the cave recall the ones discovered by Apollo in Hermes' cave in *Hymn to Hermes* 249–51, where 'plentiful gold and silver lay within, and many purple and white garments of the nymph (πολλὸς δὲ χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἔνδον ἔκειτο, | πολλὰ δὲ φοινικόεντα καὶ ἄργυφα εἵματα νύμφης), those things as are in the blessed gods' holy houses'. The author of the *Lithica* imitates the anaphora of πολύς from the model, to stress the abundance of Hermes' gifts. The magic and mystic image of Hermes conveyed by the *Lithica*'s author, who was a pagan and expresses a severe condemnation of Christians at lines 76ff., in a 'code-passage' (ἴκελοι θήρεσσιν, ἀίδριες ἠδ' ἀδίδακτοι), is a sort of response to Christian attempts to employ the god as a sort of figure of Christ, as we have seen.[54]

Christian poets, on their own side, adopted a different literary strategy, employing borrowings and quotations from classical authors in order to demonstrate that the result was superior to these same models. The main methods are so-called *usurpation*, the transfer of an epithet from a pagan divinity to Christ or God, and *Kontrastimitation*, consisting of the reversal of the original

[54] It not a coincidence that Gregory of Nazianzus in the passage already cited above (n. 40) mentions poems on stones in the list of the subjects to be rejected by a Christian poet: it is possible that he had in mind exactly the *Orphic Lithica*.

context of a literary quotation.[55] A good example is offered by the *Vision of Dorotheus*. This poem, transmitted in a codex from the turn of the fifth century (*P.Bodmer* 29–37), is the first of a collection of eight Christian classicizing poems dealing with sin and salvation, to be dated to the middle of the fourth century.[56] Dorotheus is the narrator-protagonist of the poem, relating his experiences in God's palace, where he commits a double sin and is terribly scourged and then baptized, and finally seems to be elevated to the rank of a bishop. The *Vision* represents one of the first extant attempts to compose Christian poetry using classicizing language: despite the poem's many deficiencies of language and metrics compared to the classical norm, the author demonstrates notable familiarity with Homer, Hesiod, and Apollonius of Rhodes. In one passage he seems to show some knowledge of the *Homeric Hymns*. After being punished, Dorotheus inserts a hymn into the narrative, thanking mercy and poetic inspiration as well (*VD* 168–77[57]):

ἤλυθε δὲ Χρηστὸς φαεσίμβροτος ἐν δικ[αίο]ισι
ἤλυθε δ' ἄγγελος ὠκύς, ὃς ἄφθιτος ἔπλετ[ο πάντω]ν.
'Γαβριήλ, μάλα χαῖρε, σὺ γὰρ πατὴρ ἔπλε[υ ἀοιδῆς,
οὔτι κατήφησας τὸν ἐμὸν νόον· ὡς ὅτε μή[τηρ
ἀμφιχυθεὶς φίλον υἷα κινύρεται, ὡς σύ [παρέστης
δείξας σήματα πάντα, βαλὼν χαρίεσσαν ἀοι[δὴν]
ἐν στήθεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν, ὅπιν χέα[ς] ωγ[. . .]εφ[
ἐν λιμέσιν μαλακοῖσιν ἐφεζόμενον λιτα[νεύειν.
τοῖα δ' ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐμοῖς ποτικάμβαλες αὐδ[ὴν
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσσόμενα π[ρ]ό τ' ἐόντα'

Christ, the bringer of light, came to the righteous, and the swift angel came, who was eternal in every way. 'Gabriel, many greetings, for you are the father of the song, you grieved in no way concerning my mind.

[55] Agosti (2011) with further examples and bibliography.

[56] Miguélez Cavero (2008), 61–3 n. 40; Agosti (2012), 365; L. Miguélez Cavero, 'Rhetoric for a Christian Community: The Poems of the *Codex Visionum*', in A. J. Quiroga Puertas (ed.), *Rhetoric and Literature in the Fourth Century A.D.* (Tübingen, 2012). The codex is usually called the 'codex of visions' on account of the majority of its content (the visions of the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the vision of Dorotheus). The poems contain reflections on Isaac's sacrifice, on theodicy (the poem *To the Righteous*), *ethopoeae* on Cain and Abel, *encomia* of Christ, and exhortations.

[57] The text is that of A. Hurst, O. Reverdin, and J. Rudhardt, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX. Vision de Dorothéos* (Cologny and Geneva, 1984), with a couple of my own corrections: at 170 ἔπλε[υ ἀοιδῆς (*cl.* Claud. *Gig. gr.* 1.7 σὺ γὰρ θεὸς ἔπλευ ἀοιδῆς), possible also ἔπλε[υ ἐμεῖο (*cl.* A.R. 4.743); at 171 κατήφησας (κατηφήσας eds).

> As when a mother embraces and mourns her beloved son, you stood by me, pointing out all the signs and casting a graceful song into my breast, pouring a voice . . . to pray sitting in gentle harbours. These are the subjects of the divine song you cast into my breast, in order that I should celebrate things past and future.'

This short hymn is built on classical models, and there are three possible allusions to *Homeric Hymns*. The request of the song at lines 173–4 is similar in structure to *Hymn to Apollo* 519 (*Μοῦϲα*) *ἐν ϲτήθεϲϲιν ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν* ('in breasts the Muse has placed honey-voiced singing').[58] At l. 175 *ἐν λιμέϲιν μαλακοῖϲιν ἐφεζόμενον λιτα[νεύειν*, the image of the *portum quietis* combines echoes from *Od.* 11.19 *ἐν λιμέϲιν χαλεποῖϲι* (reversed) with *Hymn to Pan* 9 *ῥείθροιϲιν ἐφελκόμενος μαλακοῖϲι* ('drawn to the gentle streams'). This kind of 'quasi-cento' composition was familiar to the poet, who uses it elsewhere in the *Vision*. In the same passage the following verses (176–7) come from Hesiod, *Th.* 31–2. Finally, the first half-verse of l. 169 *ἤλυθε δ' ἄγγελοϲ ὠκύϲ* comes from *Hymn to Demeter* 407 *εὖτέ μοι Ἑρμῆϲ ἦ[λθ]' ἐριούνιοϲ ἄγγελοϲ ὠκύϲ*, according to the reading of M (whereas *P.Oxy.* 2379 reads *εὖτέ μ]οι ἄγγελοϲ ἦλ[θ]' ἐριούνιοϲ ἀργειφόντηϲ*).[59] Although *ἄγγελοϲ ὠκύϲ* might seem a sort of 'cult-formula' of Hermes,[60] it is actually quite rare: in Late Antiquity it is found elsewhere only in *P.Strassburg* inv. gr. 481 9v *ἄγγελοϲ ὠκύϲ*.[61] Dorotheus was particularly fond of it, using it as a true formula for Gabriel twice in the *Vision* (here and at l. 161) and also in two other poems of the Bodmer codex, *On Abraham* (*P.Bodmer* 30.2) and *To the Righteous* (*P.Bodmer* 31.71).[62] Since Gabriel was considered the

[58] See also *Or.Sib.* 2.2–3 (*θεοὺϲ*) *καί μοι πάλιν ἐν ϲτήθεϲϲιν | ἔνθετο θεϲπεϲίων ἐπέων πολυγηθέα φωνήν*.

[59] See Richardson (1974), 286.

[60] Cf. *Il.* 2.786 *Τρωϲὶν δ' ἄγγελοϲ ἦλθε ποδήνεμοϲ ὠκέα Ἶριϲ*, *Od.* 16.468 *ἄγγελοϲ ὠκύϲ*. In the complex Christology of the poem Gabriel and Christ are actually identified: this is the reason why verses 168 and 169 are almost identical in structure, and in the hymn Gabriel has prerogatives usually given to Christ, such as 'father of poetry' (in Christian poetry it is Christ, or God, not Gabriel, who gives poetic inspiration, substituting for the Muses).

[61] But it is significantly absent from the *Orphic Hymns*.

[62] We shall remark that it was not so successful among other Christian poets: Gregory of Nazianzus does not employ it, nor Nonnus in the *Paraphrase* or the author of the *Metaphrase of the Psalms*. Nonnus has *ταχὺν ἄγγελον* (of Hermes = Hes. *Op.* 85) once in *Dion.* 3.374 (Hermes), reused also by [Apol.] *Met. Pss.* 151.8. Even in the *Homerocentones* the formula is used only twice (in two different redactions: 1.2194 and 2.1841 Schembra) but not for Gabriel.

Christian 'correspondent' of Hermes,[63] the reuse of the formula by Dorotheus is a typical example of *usurpation*.[64]

In the corpus of *Sibylline Oracles* has been transmitted a hymn to Christ (= book 6), which is to be dated to the first decades of the third century, and is probably the earliest extant example of Christian hexametrical poetry. In his edition and commentary of this poem Mark D. Usher points out some similarities in diction and in structure to the *Homeric Hymns*, stressing that the formal structure of the hymn resembles that of shorter *Hymns*; also that the last part (lines 21–8), with the double apostrophe juxtaposing admonition and blessing, is close to that in *Hymn to Demeter* 480–3.[65] Although such similarities are perhaps less convincing than Usher wants, it is nonetheless undeniable that the Christian hymn has a narrative structure (describing Christ's descent into the world and his life) that is surely closer to that of the *Homeric Hymns* than to the hymnic production of the time, both pagan and Christian. The author probably wanted to create a Christian religious hymn that was built on but surpassed its prestigious models.[66]

Finally, just a few words on the possible influence of the *Homeric Hymns* on a category of texts never explored from this point of view, that is inscriptional poetry. While in epigraphic hymns of the late Hellenistic and Imperial period there does not appear to be any clear influence of the *Hymns*,[67] in metrical inscriptions of the fourth to

[63] J. Golega, *Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Breslau, 1930), 70 n. 4; Accorinti (1995); Agosti (2003), 341–2.

[64] Other poems of the codex show possible allusions to the *Homeric Hymns*. For instance, in *The Lord to those who suffer* (*P.Bodmer* 34), at l. 8 εἶξ' ἕ[καθ]εν κόσμοιο could be modelled on *Hymn to Demeter* 191 εἶξε δέ οἱ κλισμοῖο; the beginning of verse 20 ῥί[ψω γὰρ] κακοεργοὺς ἑκάς reminds one of the *Hymn to Hermes* 256 ῥίψω γάρ σε βαλὼν ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα; see C. Berolli, 'Il poemetto di Dorotheos, ὁ δεσπότης πρὸς τοὺς πά[σχο]ντας P Bodmer XXXIV)', *APapyrol* 23 (2013), 126 and 147.

[65] M. D. Usher, 'The Sixth *Sibylline Hymn* as a Literary Hymn', *GRBS* 36 (1995), 40.

[66] It is interesting that in the Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* there are very few traces of reuse of the *Homeric Hymns*: in her edition J. L. Lightfoot, *The Sibylline Oracles. With Introduction, Translation, & Commentary on the First and Second Books* (Oxford, 2007), 165 n. 72 and 167 n. 78 mentions just two examples.

[67] On this production, see V. Garulli, 'Inni epigrafici greci di provenienza micro-asiatica', *Paideia* 65 (2010). The unfortunately fragmentary hymn to Hermes, coming from Trier (*EG* 1032 Kaibel; see Vergados (2013), 105), and splendidly explained by R. Herzog, 'Zwei griechische Gedichte des 4. Jahrhunderts aus St. Maximin in Trier', *TZ* 12 (1937), probably had a quotation from the *Hymn to Asclepius* 4, according to the restoration by Herzog (1937), 146 at l. 17; see also M. Siede, 'Nr. 5: Hermes-Inschrift', in M. Siede and L. Schwinden (eds), *Inscriptiones Graecae Treverenses.*

sixth centuries it is indeed possible to find traces of them, at least in the vocabulary. Let us look at a Christian example from Bostra (Arabia), of the mid-fifth century, *IGLS* XIII 9119a–d = *SGO* 22/45/05, celebrating the building of a church by the bishop Antipater:

> [δόγμα]τος ὀρθοτόμου ταμίης καὶ ὑπέρμαχος ἐσθλός,
> ἀρχιερεὺς θεόπνευστος ἐδείματο κάλλος ἄμετρον
> [Ἀντίπατ]ρος κλυτόμητις ἀεθλοφόρους μετ' ἀγῶνας,
> κυδαίνων μεγάλως θεομήτορα παρθένον ἁγνὴν
> Μαρίαν πολύϋμνον ἀκήρατον ἀγλαόδωρον.
>
> Dispenser of the right doctrine and valorous champion, archbishop inspired by God, Antipater built this extraordinary beauty, famous for his skill, after victorious contests, greatly glorifying the Mother of God, the pure Virgin, Mary rich in hymns, untouched, bestowing splendid gifts.

In lines 3 and 5 the presence of two adjectives occurring in the *Hymns* (κλυτόμητις from *Hymn to Hephaestus* 1 Ἥφαιστον κλυτόμητιν; and ἀγλαόδωρος from *Hymn to Demeter* 54, 192, 492) is striking: both of them had already been reused,[68] but the latter is not previously attested in Christian poetry.[69] Once again, we have a case of *usurpation*: the actual Goddess 'bestowing splendid gifts' is the Virgin, not Demeter. And as for κλυτόμητις, the adjective is common in Late Antique epigrams for governors, celebrated for their building activity. This may not be coincidental. In the *Hymn to Hephaestus* the god is κλυτόμητις because men 'learnt crafts' and 'they pass their lives at ease in their own houses' (lines 5–7) because of him. Those who first employed the adjective to exalt municipal governors were conscious of its original context. And even later, when it was applied to bishops (and even God, the true 'architect' of the world[70]), the adjective refers to building (as in Antipater's case).

Edition des spätantiken und früchristlichen griechischen Inschriften mit Übersetzung und Kommentar (Trier, 2012), 38–54.

[68] κλυτόμητις: e.g. *APl* 43 = *SGO* 05/01/10, *I.Strat.* 1018; in one inscription from Pisidia (*I.Burdur.Mus.* 108; Makron Pedion, AD 125–6; cf. G. H. R. Horsley, 'Homer in Pisidia: Aspects of the History of Greek Education in a Remote Roman Province', *Antichton* 43 (2000), 66–7; G. H. R. Horsley with R. A. Kearsley, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum* (London, 2007), 75–8), referring to Hermes 'famous for his skill' (lines 24–5 Ἑρμῆν τε κλυτ[ό]μητιν). ἀγλαόδωρος is reused once by the Oppian of *Cyn.* and then by Nonnus in the *Dion.*

[69] Its occurrence in Proclus *Hymn* 1.42 could be significant.

[70] For example, in *SGO* 21/22/01 (Gadara, mid-fifth century), by Empress Eudocia (l. 15 ἀλλὰ θεὸν κλυτόμητιν ἀείσο[μαι).

CONCLUSION

To sum up, it is undeniable that the *Homeric Hymns* had some popularity among Late Antique poets, especially in the fourth and fifth centuries. A considerable part of their fortune consists in quotations of phraseology and more often in 'tags' (without any reference to the original context), according to a concept of epic code extended to the whole Homeric corpus, probably by the influence of school education. But also the religious and cultic status of the *Hymns* did not go unnoticed, especially among engaged pagan poets, such as the author of the *patria* of Hermopolis, the poet of the *Orphic Lithica*, or Proclus (the only poet who clearly considered them as a model for his own hymnic poetry). On the other side, Christian poets re-employed phraseology from the *Hymns* according to the principles of usurpation and contrastive imitation, to point out the superiority of Christian God to the pagan divinities. In the case of the *Hymn to Hermes* the text is reused in a refined and allusive way to convey the idea of Hermes-Logos, or employs simple tags to adapt for Gabriel and Christ some of Hermes' features.

Part IV

Byzantine Literature

13

On the *Homeric Hymns* in Byzantium

Christos Simelidis

In this chapter I investigate the presence of the *Homeric Hymns* in Byzantium. There is, of course, no doubt that the *Hymns* were present in Byzantium, because otherwise we would not have them today. They have been transmitted to us through Byzantine manuscripts. It is unfortunate that all twenty-nine manuscripts that are known to contain the *Homeric Hymns* come from the fifteenth century, because this limits our understanding of the transmission of the text in earlier centuries. On the other hand, this fact is suggestive of a significant interest in the *Hymns* in the fifteenth century. After an introductory section on Classical literature in Byzantium, I attempt to locate specific borrowings from or allusions to the *Homeric Hymns* in various Byzantine texts. I also discuss in detail the uncertainties associated with such an endeavour. Finally, I present some aspects of the life and writings of John Eugenikos, the scribe of Leidensis BPG 33 H (M), the most celebrated manuscript of the *Homeric Hymns* and the only one which groups the *Hymns* with the *Iliad* (and not with a hymnic corpus). It seems that John Eugenikos copied the *Homeric Hymns* because of a personal interest and their presence in M should not be taken as an indication for the transmission of the *Hymns* as part of a Homer edition.

BYZANTINE SCRIBES AND THE *HOMERIC HYMNS*

In one of his sermons,[1] John Chrysostom warns of a priest's presence at a wedding party where:

[1] *Propter fornicationes autem unusquisque suam uxorem habeat* 2 (*PG* 51: 211).

> καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ᾄδουσι χορεύοντες καὶ μοιχείας πολλὰς καὶ γάμων διαφθορὰς καὶ ἔρωτας παρανόμους καὶ μίξεις ἀθέσμους καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἀσεβείας καὶ αἰσχύνης γέμοντα ᾄσματα κατ᾽ ἐκείνην ᾄδουσι τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ μετὰ μέθην καὶ τοσαύτην ἀσχημοσύνην δι᾽ αἰσχρῶν ῥημάτων δημοσίᾳ τὴν νύμφην πομπεύουσι.
>
> On that day [i.e. the wedding day] they dance and sing hymns to Aphrodite, and many songs about adultery, the dissolution of marriages, improper love, illegitimate unions, as well as many other shameful and impious compositions. After drunkenness and so much disgrace, they even parade the bride in public with shameful words.[2]

It is impossible to know with certainty what Chrysostom had in mind with his reference to 'hymns to Aphrodite' in wedding parties of Late Antiquity. Aphrodite is a model for the bride in Sappho[3] and she is usually present in later epithalamia, even ones written for Christian couples, even by Christian poets, such as Sidonius Apollinaris.[4] The incorporation of mythical narratives related to Peleus and Thetis, Aphrodite, Cupids, and Graces was traditional for the epithalamium.[5] Such mythical images were appreciated by many educated Christians, whose education and literary tastes were not very different from those of the pagans. The majority of the Christians of this period would not have been offended by the pagan elements of the ancient literary tradition, provided that these elements were deprived of their original, religious context.[6] Moreover, the incorporation of such mythical elements into Christian poems or works of art placed Christian literature and art within a long and admired tradition, elevated their style, and also reassured educated Christians that they did not need to lose contact with the great literary and artistic heritage of the ancient world.

[2] Cf. Clemens' advice 'on how to conduct ourselves at feasts' (*Paedagogus* 2.4.44): ἀλλ᾽ αἱ μὲν ἐρωτικαὶ μακρὰν ἐρρόντων ᾠδαί, ὕμνοι δὲ ἔστων τοῦ θεοῦ αἱ ᾠδαί, 'but let love songs be driven far away, and let our songs be hymns to God.'

[3] See G. Nagy, 'Lyric and Greek Myth', in R. D. Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology* (Cambridge and New York, 2007), 28–30.

[4] M. Roberts, 'The Use of Myth in Latin Epithalamia from Statius to Venantius Fortunatus', *TAPhA* 119 (1989), 335–40.

[5] According to the account of Menander Rhetor pp. 399.11–405.13.

[6] Roberts (1989), 335–7. Cf. C. Simelidis, *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus: I.2.17; II.1.10, 19.32: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (Göttingen, 2009), 44–6.

In the passage cited above, it is unlikely that Chrysostom implies independent hymns to Aphrodite or even proper epithalamia. He possibly refers to praises of Aphrodite in popular songs for the wedding dance. For Chrysostom praise of Aphrodite on such an occasion is as disgraceful as the songs full of adultery and the other shameful themes he mentions. Not all educated Christians would appreciate pagan mythology evoked in a Christian wedding and, indeed, Paulinus of Nola wrote a wedding poem (*carm.* 25.9–10 [CSEL 30, 238]) where he rejects the traditional mythical discourse of epithalamia:

> absit ab <his> thalamis vani lascivia vulgi,
> Iuno Cupido Venus, nomina luxuriae.
>
> May the wantonness of the deluded mob be absent from this marriage, as well as Juno, Cupid, and Venus, the names of extravagance.[7]

Roberts explains this break from tradition with reference to the facts that 'Paulinus is no ordinary Christian, but a convert to an ascetic, monastic style of Christianity' and 'the couple for whom he is writing are the children of clergy, a point which is repeatedly made in the poem'.[8] It is true that in early Byzantium there were ascetics, such as Nilus of Ancyra (a contemporary and friend of Chrysostom), who rejected the idea that a Christian writer could have literary aspirations, let alone use pagan myths or imitate Classical models.[9] Strict ascetic views were even against liturgical hymnography.[10] However, these views did not prevail. Instead, monasteries were to become centres of Christian hymnography and the Cappadocians' view that Classical literature could be useful and should be studied was very influential. Gregory of Nazianzus made this case in a most striking way: by composing about 17,000 classicizing Christian verses, full of allusions to pagan texts.

Despite this Christian appreciation for, and appropriation of, the high literary heritage of the pagan past, we may wonder whether any hymn to Aphrodite would have been given much attention by a Christian in Byzantium. Even the *Homeric Hymns* to the Greek

[7] See Roberts (1989), 337–8. See R. P. H. Green, 'Latin Love Elegy in Late Antiquity', in T. S. Thorsen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Latin Love Elegy* (Cambridge and New York, 2013), 261–2 on an interesting allusion to Ovid in this distich.

[8] Roberts (1989), 337.

[9] Cf. Simelidis (2009), 27–9.

[10] See K. Mitsakis, *Βυζαντινὴ ὑμνογραφία* (Thessaloniki, 1971), 66–70, 108.

goddess of love, which may not have been considered actual prayers used in pagan worship, or hymns to other gods, might have been approached with some suspicion by people reading daily Psalms warning against false gods. This is how Athanasius of Alexandria comments on *Psalm* 64.2:

> *Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος, ὁ Θεός, ἐν Σιών. Οὐκέτι, φησίν, οἷς ἐνομίζομεν θεοῖς τοὺς ὕμνους ἀναπέμψομεν, εἰδότες ὡς ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ πρέπει ἀνυμνεῖν, ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ δαιμονίοις οὖσιν.*[11]
>
> *Praise is due to you, O God, in Zion*. We should not, he says, offer up hymns to those whom we considered gods, knowing that we should not celebrate them in song, since they are woods and stones and demons.

It may be true that Byzantine scribes, who were often monks, would not have been overly excited about copying the *Homeric Hymns* celebrating pagan gods. At the same time, hexameter poetry, especially that with a claim to Homeric authorship, was highly admired in Byzantium, irrespective of its contents. Byzantine scholars and scribes would normally not censor texts, unless their author was condemned as a heretic.[12] The Classical texts maintained their place in the school curriculum and were often treated as models by the Byzantines in their attempt to achieve a high level of language and style. Photius, who would later become a patriarch, read the Greek novels and explains in the *Bibliotheca* that he enjoyed them linguistically, despite the fact that he did not like their contents.[13] And as late as the last centuries of Byzantium, scholars like George Pachymeres (1242–*c.*1310) or Theodore Metochites (also a prime minister from 1305 to 1328) composed hexameter poetry, even if they struggled with the metrical rules.[14]

[11] Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos PG* 27.284. Ever since Origen, Christians identified the pagan gods as demons. See D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), *passim*, e.g. pp. 12 and 24.

[12] For the few cases of bowdlerization of Classical texts, see N. G. Wilson, 'The Church and Classical Studies in Byzantium', *A&A* 16 (1970), 72–3.

[13] Cf. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 4th edn (Oxford, 2013), 63.

[14] Most of Metochites' poems have been published by J. M. Featherstone, *Theodore Metochites's Poems 'to Himself': Introduction, Text and Translation* (Vienna, 2000). For Pachymeres, see T. E. Detorakis, '*Ἀνέκδοτα Ποιήματα τοῦ Γεωργίου Παχυμέρη*', in B. Kremmydas, C. Maltezou, and N. M. Panagiotakis (eds), *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίκο Σβορώνο*, Vol. I (Rethymno, 1986). For metrical problems, see the review of Featherstone's edition by M. D. Lauxtermann, 'Review of Featherstone (2000)', *JÖByz* 51 (2001), 463.

THE *HOMERIC HYMNS* IN BYZANTINE LITERATURE

Are there any indications that the *Homeric Hymns* were read by the Byzantines? There are no explicit references to the *Homeric Hymns* in Byzantine literature. The only way to verify that they were studied in Byzantium is through references, borrowings, or allusions in Byzantine texts. I have gone through a number of modern critical editions of Byzantine texts and examined closely any references to the *Homeric Hymns* made by the editors in the testimonia. In most cases these references could give a false impression. They usually follow a reference to a Homeric formula identical or similar to the one found in a *Homeric Hymn*. But when an expression is found in the Homeric poems, these are the most likely source of the Byzantine author. In his recent edition of the poems by Christopher of Mytilene, a high-ranking imperial official of the eleventh century, M. De Groote offers twelve references to the *Homeric Hymns* in the apparatus fontium.[15] However, on close inspection almost all (with only one exception) are Homeric formulae which also occur in some *Homeric Hymns*. Even the one exception is not certain. In a poem addressed to the emperor Michael IV (*r.* 1034–41) there is a curse for anyone who detests the emperor (19.8): ὃς σέ γ' ἀπεχθαίρει κρατερόν <περ ἐόντα ἄνακτα>. However, περ ἐόντα does not survive in any manuscript and κρατερόν is Kurtz's conjecture for κρατερόει of the main manuscript.[16] De Groote refers here to *h.Herm.* 418 | καὶ κρατερόν περ ἐόντα, but cf. also Q.S. 9.217 κρατερὸν φορέοντες ἄνακτα |. Sometimes editors may intend to show how frequently an expression was used and not to indicate its likely source for their author. For line 209 οὐδ' ὀλοοῖο χόλοιο πεπαύσεται ἤματα πάντα of *Drosilla and Charicles*, a twelfth-century romance by Nicetas Eugeneianos, A. Giusti offers in the apparatus fontium: 'cf. Hes. *Th.* 533, *h. Cer.* 350–1 χόλου | ἀθανάτοις παύσειεν, E. *Med.* 93–4, 172, A.R. 4. 713–14 χόλοιο | . . . παύσειν'.[17] Euripides'

[15] M. De Groote, *Christophori Mitylenaii Versuum variorum Collectio Cryptensis* (Turnhout, 2012).

[16] The poems of Christopher of Mytilene are found mostly in a Grottaferrata MS. of the thirteenth century (Biblioteca della Badia Greca, Z α XXIX), which is heavily damaged, with many verses in a fragmentary form.

[17] G. Conca, *Nicetas Eugenianus, De Drosillae et Chariclis amoribus* (Amsterdam, 1990).

passage, which is not quoted in full, perhaps is the closest: οὐδὲ παύσεται | χόλου. And from other allusions noted by Giusti it is evident that Eugeneianos certainly knew the *Medea*.

There are, however, cases where a *Homeric Hymn* seems to have been the actual source for the Byzantine author. Paul Silentiarius, a sixth-century poet, wrote a lengthy hexameter poem celebrating Justinian's restoration of the great church of Saint Sophia at Constantinople. It is a description (ecphrasis) of the church and was perhaps delivered on 6 January 563.[18] The work, together with a similar description of the *ambon* or pulpit of the church, have been recently edited by De Stefani (2011). At some point Paul describes an altar cover with an image of Christ made of silk, where (vv. 769–72):

> χρυσοφαὲς δ' ἀμάρυγμα βολαῖς ῥοδοπήχεος ἠοῦς
> ἁπλοῒς ἀντήστραψε θεοκράντων ἐπὶ γυίων,
> καὶ Τυρίῃ πόρφυρε χιτὼν ἁλιανθέϊ κόχλῳ,
> δεξιὸν εὐτύκτοις ὑπὸ νήμασιν ὦμον ἐρέπτων.
>
> A garment upon his divine limbs shines with a golden radiance in the rays of rosy-armed Dawn, and a tunic dyed purple with a Tyrian seashell covers his right shoulder under its fine cloth.

Paul seems to borrow the rosy-armed Dawn from the *Homeric Hymn to Helios* 6 | Ἠῶ τε ῥοδόπηχυν.[19]

In the description of the ambo, Paul says that while the upper side of the ambo's platform was flat (for people to stand comfortably), the underside was curved and resembled the ellipsoid back of a tortoise: οἷα κραταιρίνοιο κεκυφότα νῶτα χελώνης (v. 118).[20] This verse seems to have been inspired by *h.Herm.* 48 πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης (baby Hermes pierces the back of the tortoise's shell to make his lyre). Although κραταιρίνοιο in *h.Herm.* 48 is an emendation (of the διὰ ῥινοῖο of the codices), it appears to be confirmed by Paul Silentiarius' text.[21]

[18] See M. Whitby, 'The Occasion of Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphrasis* of S. Sophia', *CQ* 35 (1985), 216.

[19] The phrase is only repeated (citing 'Homer') by Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertationes* 40.2. Cf. also Sappho fr. 58.19 βροδόπαχυν Ἄϋων (I owe this reference to Nicholas Richardson).

[20] For this feature of the ambo, see S. G. Xydis, 'The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia', *The Art Bulletin* 29 (1949), 14.

[21] A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 268, whose text I have printed here. N. J. Richardson, *Three Homeric Hymns: Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite* (Cambridge, 2010), 54 keeps the

Another possible borrowing from *h.Herm.* 51 makes Paul's familiarity with this text even more likely. When he describes the illumination of the dome (in the ecphrasis of Saint Sophia), he records huge circular rings, which were suspended from the great height of the dome to function as vessels for hundreds of oil lamps. I cite an excerpt from this description (vv. 810–14):

> καὶ γὰρ ἐμῶν πολύμητις ἐπιφροσύνη βασιλήων
> ἀντιπόροις ἑλίκεσσι πολυγνάμπτοισι δεθείσας
> πλεκτὰς χαλκελάτους δολιχὰς ἐτανύσσατο σειρὰς
> λαϊνέης προβλῆτος ἀπ᾽ ἄντυγος, ἧς ἐπὶ νώτωι
> νηὸς ἀερσικάρηνος ἐρείσατο ταρσὰ καλύπτρης.
>
> The clever wisdom of my kings has stretched long plaited cords of brass, attached with twisted hooks, from the protruding stone cornice, on which the high-roofed temple supports the base of its dome.

For line 812 De Stefani refers to *h.Herm.* 51 ἑπτὰ δὲ συμφώνους ὀΐων ἐτανύσσατο χορδάς (Hermes stretches seven strings of sheep gut across a tortoise shell to make his lyre) and this could be Paul's source. However, ἐτανύσσατο occurs at the same metrical sedes also at Call. *Hymn.* 3.27 πολλὰς δὲ μάτην ἐτανύσσατο χεῖρας and Nonnus (twice, *D.* 48. 146 and 168), so it is impossible to establish with certainty Paul's model(s) and it should be said that he may well have known all three of these earlier texts.

Two cases from Michael Psellos (1018–after 1081?) illustrate another difficulty with identifying secure allusions to the *Homeric Hymns*. Psellos was a polymath and prolific writer, best known for his *Chronography*, which describes the years 976–1078 and shows more interest in gossip and portraits of characters than in political events. In his *Encomion on the Beheading of St John the Baptist*,[22] Psellos refers to the Gospel of Luke's story of Mary's meeting with Elizabeth

transmitted διὰ ῥινοῖο. Its emendation into κραταιρίνοιο was introduced by J. Barnes, *Homeri Odyssea, et in eandem scholia, sive interpretatio, veterum. Accedunt Batrachomyomachia, Hymni et Epigrammata, una cum fragmentis* (Cambridge, 1711), 46 (Appendix), who cites a verse from an oracle at Hdt. 1.47 (ὀδμή μ᾽ ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης). Barnes adds that Herodotus' text is confirmed by its citation in Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica* 5.21.1. The *editio princeps* of Paul's description of the ambo was published later, in 1815, by August Immanuel Bekker.

[22] In the edition of E. A. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli orationes hagiographicae* (Stuttgart, 1994), this work (orat. hag. 8) is presented as spurious, but see G. Makris, '*Τὸ ἐγκώμιο πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος* BHG 1418c *καὶ ὁ συντάκτης του*', in S. Kotzabassi and G. Mavromatis (eds), *Realia Byzantina* (Berlin, 2009), 107–8.

(1.39–45): John, who was still in his mother's womb, leaped for joy at the presence of Jesus' mother, who bore Jesus in her womb. Psellos expresses his delight and admiration at this story which he contrasts with mythical stories about unborn children or infants; for example, he refers (151–2) to 'the thigh which played the role of women so that the Bacchic revelling is also divine' (*καὶ τὸν τὰ γυναικῶν ὑποστάντα μηρόν, ἵν' ᾖ θεῖον καὶ τὸ βακχεύειν*), an apparent allusion to the baby Dionysus, or (155–6) to 'the one who in his swaddling clothes practised stealing—a great one and worthy of mention': *ὁ γὰρ αὐτοῖς σπαργάνοις καὶ τὸ συλᾶν ἐπασκήσας, μέγας μέν τις καὶ ἀξιόλογος*. For this case Fisher writes in the apparatus fontium: 'auctor infantem Mercurium significat; cf. *H.H.* 4,18'. The *Homeric Hymn* mentions that on the evening of his first day Hermes stole Apollo's cattle (*ἑσπέριος βοῦς κλέψεν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος*). Does the editor's reference give us the more likely or at least a likely source? Or does it indicate the earliest occurrence of this mythical event? For a story so well known there could be several possible sources for Psellos, and certainly some are linguistically closer to his text than the *Homeric Hymn*. Examples include Philostratus, *Imagines* 1.26.1 *ὁ κομιδῇ παῖς ὁ ἔτι ἐν σπαργάνοις, ὁ τὰς βοῦς εἰς τὸ ῥῆγμα τῆς γῆς ἐλαύνων, ἔτι κἀκεῖνος ὁ συλῶν τὰ βέλη τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἑρμῆς οὗτος* ('the one who is a complete child, still in swaddling-clothes, who drives cattle into the cleft of the earth, and even steals Apollo's arrows—he is Hermes'), or pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.112 *οὗτος ἐν πρώτοις <σπαργάνοις> ἐπὶ τοῦ λίκνου κείμενος, ἐκδὺς εἰς Πιερίαν παραγίνεται, καὶ κλέπτει βόας ἃς ἔνεμεν Ἀπόλλων* ('lying in swaddling-clothes in his cradle, he escaped and went to Pieria, and stole the cattle which Apollo was herding').

Thus, when there is a reference to a mythical narrative, editors at times think of the *Homeric Hymns* and refer to them only, when there may have been other sources for the Byzantine author. A second example from Psellos will suffice. In a panegyric of Constantine IX Monomachos,[23] Psellos makes a reference to Leto giving birth in Delos (4. 395): *ὁποῖα δὴ ὑμεῖς οἱ περὶ τῆς Δήλου φατέ, ἔνθα διαβᾶσα τέτοκεν ἡ Λητώ*. Dennis in his testimonia suggests 'Hom. Apoll. 25–28; 135–36'. But again this reference should not be taken as

[23] The fourth oration in the edition of G. T. Dennis, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes panegyricae* (Stuttgart, 1994).

pointing to the more likely source of Psellos for such a famous episode.

A century later, Eustathius of Thessalonica (*c.*1115–95/6) in a speech of address (*λόγος προσφωνηματικός*) to Michael Hagiotheodorites, who served as a close adviser of emperor Manuel I Komnemos, refers at some point to Michael's childhood and his brother John, adding the following highly rhetorical lines (*or.* 8.2.1–4):

> *τί ἂν οὖν τις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἑαυτὸν εἰς μακρὸν ἀπασχολοίη, ἔνθα πολὺ λόγου πλάτος ὑπανοίγεται καὶ οἷον μὴ ἂν εἶναι διεξοδεῦσαι ῥᾴδιον; οἷος δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ἱερὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσοις ἐξ ἔτι νέου θάλους ἤνθει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἄλλην τοῦτο σχολὴν ἐπιζητεῖ λόγου καὶ εἰς ἔργον μέγα κείσεται.*[24]
>
> why would anyone steep himself at length in these matters, which would lead to a very long speech and still would not be easy to cover in full? Similarly, to explain who his other holy brother was and the good things with which he flourished since childhood, would require a separate lecture and would be a very demanding task.

This other brother was Nicholas, archbishop of Athens from 1166 to 1175. For *καὶ ὅσοις ἐξ ἔτι νέου θάλους ἤνθει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς*, Wirth refers to 'Hymn. Cer. 187': when Celeus' wife Metanira receives Demeter she holds her son, a tender scion, in her bosom (*παῖδ' ὑπὸ κόλπῳ ἔχουσα νέον θάλος*). *νέον θάλος* occurs nowhere else in Greek literature, although there is a similar expression in Euripides' *IT* 232: when Iphigenia talks to the chorus about her unhappy life, she mentions her brother whom she left in his mother's arms *ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι νέον, ἔτι θάλος*, 'still a new-born baby, still a child'.[25] So again one cannot be certain that Eustathius draws this expression from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Several lines above on the same page, Eustathius says that it would not have been possible for anyone to stand by the emperor and be appointed as his closest servant, unless he should thrive with all good things and have been brought up to attain virtue in a good and bright way (8.1.69–71 *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν παραστατεῖν τινα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς ἐγγίζοντα θεράποντα τάττεσθαι μὴ οὐ πᾶσι θάλλοντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, τετράφθαι δέ σε πρὸς ἀρετὴν καλῶς καὶ λίαν λαμπρῶς*). *θάλλοντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς* here and *ἐξ ἔτι νέου θάλους ἤνθει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς* in the passage cited earlier both seem to recall Hesiod, *Op.* 236

[24] P. Wirth, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora* (Berlin, 2000), 143.

[25] There may be additional similar expressions, such as Eur. *Bacchae* 289 *βρέφος . . . νέον*.

(on the just people) θάλλουσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι διαμπερές ('they bloom continually with good things'), a reference made by Wirth in the testimonia for 8.1.70.

These cases of likely or unlikely borrowings from *Homeric Hymns* are perhaps typical examples of the *Homeric Hymns*' presence in Byzantine literature. The hymns are very likely to have been used as a source for Homeric linguistic material by poets such as Paul Silentiarius or Theodore Prodromos (on which, see Chapter 14 by A. Faulkner), although some prose authors may also have borrowed expressions or referred to the contents of the *Hymns*. Such borrowings from or allusions to the *Homeric Hymns* are often uncertain, because similar expressions may occur in Homer (which would be certainly known to Byzantine authors) or Byzantine authors could draw mythological material (available in the *Homeric Hymns*) from other sources as well, such as pseudo-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* or earlier Byzantine authors referring to the same myths.

LEIDENSIS BPG 33 H: THE *HOMERIC HYMNS* IN A HOMER EDITION?

The hymns were undoubtedly present in manuscripts which were copied throughout Byzantium, despite the fact that all twenty-nine manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns* that we have today date from the fifteenth century. There is no doubt that many Byzantine manuscripts have been lost to us, with the fall and sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 having perhaps the most severe consequences for education in general and Classical scholarship in Byzantium in particular. Callimachus and Hipponax, for example, were known to scholars of the twelfth century from books that were destroyed or simply lost during the thirteenth century.[26] But books were certainly lost at various other times for unknown reasons. For example, Janus Lascaris noted a book of Callimachus' hymns in Megiste Lavra during his visit to Mount Athos in 1491. This book seems not to be extant.[27] It could have included the *Homeric Hymns*, as is often the case with the manuscripts of Callimachus' hymns. Another lost manuscript is

[26] Reynolds and Wilson (2013), 72.
[27] G. Speake, 'Janus Lascaris' Visit to Mount Athos in 1491', *GRBS* 34 (1993), 327.

mentioned by Ioannes Aurispa in a letter of 1424. He had acquired it in Constantinople and it contained a collection of hymns of Homer, Callimachus, and Orpheus.[28]

For two of the extant manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns* we know the names of their scribes. They were both active in the first half of the fifteenth century: Athous, Vatopedi 671 (At) was written by Girard (*Γηράρδος*) of Old Patras or Methone and Leidensis BPG 33 H (M) by John Eugenikos.[29] Girard is a well-known scribe who copied many Classical authors.[30] John Eugenikos is better known as a churchman and writer,[31] or rather as the brother of Mark Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus (1437–45), the only senior Greek delegate who refused to sign the Decree of Union (1439) at the Council of Ferrara–Florence. This Decree sought to restore communion between Eastern and Western Christendom, which grew apart from the ninth century and especially after the Fourth Crusade. John and his brother Mark were fierce opponents of the Decree of Union. This is not perhaps how one would imagine the scribe of the most celebrated manuscript of the *Homeric Hymns*. But John's interests were not limited to theological endeavours. He read the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus and wrote an introduction where he suggested an allegorical interpretation of this erotic novel.[32] He was also interested in philosophy (which he probably studied under Plethon) and in codex Parisinus gr. 1974 he has copied Porphyrios, Ammonios, and Aristotle.

M, which is fragmentary, is the only manuscript of the *Homeric Hymns* which also transmits Homer: *Iliad* 8.435–13.134. It is remarkable as our sole witness for the last part of *Hymn* 1 (to Dionysus) and

[28] Richardson (2010), 33.

[29] The identification of Girard of Patras' hand in At was made by N. G. Wilson, 'A Puzzle in Stemmatic Theory Solved', *RHT* 4 (1974), 140, and that of Ioannes Eugenikos in M by D. Harlfinger, 'Zu griechischen Kopisten und Schriftstilen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', in J. Glénisson (ed.), *La paléographie grecque et byzantine: Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974* (Paris, 1977), 335 n. 33.

[30] For Girard as a scribe, see E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, Vol. 1A (Vienna, 1981), 65, no. 80 and E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, Vol. 2A (Vienna, 1989), 60, no. 107; E. Gamillscheg, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, Vol. 3A (Vienna, 1997), 68, no. 144.

[31] For his life, see E. Trapp (ed.), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976–96), no. 6189 and A. Giomplakes, *Ἰωάννης ὁ Εὐγενικός: Βίος, ἐκκλησιαστικὴ δράσις καὶ τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον αὐτοῦ* (Diss., Thessaloniki, 1982).

[32] Edited by H. Gärtner, 'Johannes Eugenikos, Protheoria zu Heliodors *Aithiopika*', *ByzZ* 64 (1971).

the whole *Hymn* 2 (to Demeter). However, it does not transmit the rest of the hymnic corpus (Callimachus, [Orpheus], Proclus, and the *Orphic Argonautica*), which is usually found in manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns*. This, together with its unique readings for the *Homeric Hymns*, separates M from the rest of the transmission. It has been suggested that M's source contained both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, together with the *Homeric Hymns*, and that thanks to M we know that the *Homeric Hymns* were also transmitted to us in a Homer edition.[33] However, in my view, M's contents do not necessarily reflect its source, but may be due instead to choices made by John Eugenikos. A review of his career and writings would be helpful for considering the possibilities of John's initiatives with regard to the contents of this manuscript. It has also been argued that because of some errors which indicate confusion between uncial letters, M derives from a copy (usually dated to the ninth century) translitterated from an uncial book.[34] However, such mistakes have been noticed so far only in the *Homeric Hymns*, not in the *Iliad* as well,[35] so we cannot assume for this reason a common source for both the *Iliad* and the *Homeric Hymns*.

John was born in Constantinople after 1394 and died after 1454. He was a married deacon and held the positions of notary and *nomophylax* ('guard of the law') at the patriarchate. He lived to see the fall of Constantinople, on which he wrote a *μονῳδία* (lament). His major work is an *Antirrhetic of the Decree of the Council of Ferrara–Florence*, a word by word refutation of the Union Decree of the Council of Ferrara–Florence. A closer look at this work reveals that it is full of allusions to Classical texts, including Homer.[36] John was

[33] See T. Gelzer, 'Zum *Codex Mosquensis* und zur Sammlung der *Homerischen Hymnen*', *Hyperboreus* 1 (1994), 135. Cf. T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936), xx.

[34] Gelzer (1994), 135. Cf. Richardson (2010), 32–3.

[35] Gelzer (1994), 135 n. 82 only refers to R. Thiele, 'Ueber den codex Mosquensis der homerischen hymnen', *Philologus* 34 (1876), 205, and Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), xxiii (with n. 1), where the errors cited come from the *Homeric Hymns*. There is no indication that similar errors have been noticed in the text of the *Iliad*, which, according to Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), xix n. 1, has been collated: 'The portion of the *Iliad* contained in M has been collated by Ludwich (*Index lect. Regimont*. 1891) and by ourselves. It is known for the *Iliad* as Le^2.'

[36] Some of these borrowings and references are recorded in the testimonia of the critical edition by E. Rossidou-Koutsou, *John Eugenikos' Antirrhetic of the Decree of the Council of Ferrara-Florence: An Annotated Critical Edition* (Diss., London, 2004). For Homer in another work of John, his *Logos eucharisterios* (a thanksgiving speech),

eager to show off his Classical education and interests and the ease with which he incorporates Homeric words in his theological text is remarkable: Pope Eugene IV's garment is described negatively with a Homeric hapax and a double allusion to both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: *τὰ τῆς τηβαίνης ἑκκαιδεκάδωρα ὡς τὰ τοῦ ὁμηρικοῦ ἐλάφου κέρα*, 'a toga with a length of sixteen palms, like the Homeric stag's horns' (16.19–17.1). *ἑκκαιδεκάδωρα* occurs in *Il.* 4.109 and describes the length of the goat's horns from which Pandarus' bow was made. John mixes this reference with another Homeric expression, *ἔλαφον κεραόν*, 'horned stag' (four times in *Iliad*).[37] The diverse groups of the Western and Eastern Church fathers are called *ὁμηρική τις μισγάγγεια*, 'a Homeric meeting of waters' (32.9–10). Elsewhere, he uses a Homeric formula to describe the Pope's consent for a liturgy celebrated in common by Eastern and Western Christians, which was not accepted by the Orthodox: *μήτε μὴν συνιερουργῆσαι σοῦ γε κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι μὴ νεύσαντος προσδεξάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑπερφρονήσαντες* ('neither did we accept to join you in offering the Christian sacrifice, despite your bowing your dark brow in assent, but we despised you').[38]

John's ancient borrowings and references are not limited to Homer. At some point the Decree celebrates the fact that Western and Eastern fathers, after a very long period of disagreement and discord, came together in this council eager in their desire for union 'and they have not failed in their objective' (*καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ οὐκ ἀπέτυχον*). This last sentence receives the following comment from John:

> *ἀπέτυχον μὲν οὖν παντάπασι· σκιὰν μᾶλλον καὶ καπνὸν καὶ ὄναρ ἑνώσεως, οὐ μὴν ἀληθινὴν ἕνωσιν ἐργασάμενοι· ὥσπερ οἱ παρὰ Στησιχόρῳ πάλαι Τρῷες, εἴδωλον τῆς Ἑλένης ἔχοντες, αὐτὴν ἐκείνην εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς ᾠοντο· καὶ μὴδ' ὅσον Πυθαγόρας ἐρωτώμενος, πόσος ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος, μικρόν τι γοῦν φανῆναι παρασκευάσαντες.*[39]
>
> Thus they failed completely. They did not achieve a true union, but only a shadow and smoke and a dream of a union; like the old Trojans in

see A. Pizzone, 'Feeling the Rhythm of the Waves: "Castaway Rhetoric" in John Eugenikos' *Logos eucharisterios*', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 37 (2013), 200–2.

[37] For similar mixed allusions in Byzantine literature, see D. A. Christidis, *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις και κατανοήσεις* (Thessaloniki, 1996), 64–6, 162–8. Such minglings perhaps indicate the confusion of the author, who however could have been unconcerned with inaccuracies of this kind.

[38] Rossidou-Koutsou (2004), 42.8–10. Cf. *ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων* (*Il.* 1.528, 17.209).

[39] Rossidou-Koutsou (2004), 40.6–10.

> Stesichorus: they had a wraith of Helen, but thought Helen herself was with them. And what they produced is smaller than what Pythagoras indicated, when asked how long human life is.

John's wording suggests that he has taken the example of Helen from Aelius Aristides,[40] who is also cited by Photius in the *Bibliotheca* (247.415b). The allusion to the anecdote of Pythagoras, who having appeared for a short time hid himself, as an answer to a question about the length of human life, is found in several earlier Byzantine texts,[41] so John's source is not certain.

These examples demonstrate how a Byzantine scholar, up to the very end of Byzantium, could have been willing to incorporate Classical allusions and references even into a polemical theological treatise. It seems that such allusions would have lent a desirable learned air to any text. It was considered appropriate for a conservative theologian of the fifteenth century to compare the Pope with Thersites and even Arthmius, who was denounced (by a decree proposed by Themistocles) as an enemy of the Athenians for bringing Persian gold to the Peloponnese.[42] John wishes that one of the Achaeans or a new Themistocles would stop the Pope's actions.[43]

Apart from his polemical treatise, John composed hymns (some for his brother Mark, after his death), prayers to the Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity, and iambic poems (epitaphs or epigrams on icons).[44] Mark Eugenikos composed epitaphs in hexameters, which draw heavily on Gregory of Nazianzus' poems.[45] Could M be associated in any way with John's poetic work? Hexameter poetry was not generally a source of inspiration for hymnographers, although there

[40] *To Plato: In Defence of Rhetoric* 234 (ed. F. W. Lenz and C. A. Behr, *P. Aelii Aristidis, Opera quae exstant omnia, Vol. I: Orationes I–XVI* (Leiden, 1976)) *ἀλλ' οὕτως ὥσπερ εἴδωλον ῥητορικῆς ἀπειληφὼς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σπουδάζειν, αὐτῆς δ' οὐδ' ἅπτεσθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ Στησιχόρου Τρῶες οἱ τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης εἴδωλον ἔχοντες ὡς αὐτήν.*

[41] Examples include Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*, John Apocaucus, and Nicephoros Gregoras.

[42] The story is known to us from speeches of fourth-century Attic orators and is also found in later authors (see e.g. Dem. 9.41–3, 19.271–2; Ael. Arist. *De Quat*. 334, 650, *Panath*. 369, ed. Lenz and Behr, 1976). Instead of *Ἄρθμιος*, Rossidou-Koutsou prints (following the manuscripts?) *ἀρίθμιος*.

[43] Rossidou-Koutsou (2004), 150.2–4.

[44] For a list (with bibliography), see Giomplakes (1982), 116–21, 124–6.

[45] For the text, see K. Mamoni, *Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός: βίος καὶ ἔργον. Μελέτη γραμματολογική* (Athens, 1954), 85, 88–9.

are cases of direct influence and borrowings.[46] In the Office of the Feast of Mark Eugenikos, composed by John, there are some classicizing allusions that are worth citing here. The third stanza of the Sixth Ode of the Canon reads as follows:[47]

> Νειλῷα ῥεῖθρα χρυσόρροα
> καὶ μέλιτος γλυκίω τὰ χεύματα
> τὰ νεκταρόχυτα
> τῆς θεορρήμονος γλώττης σου
> ὀρθοδοξίας πᾶσι
> βλύζοντα δόγματα.
>
> the streams of your tongue, speaking from God, are pouring out nectar and are like the streams of Nile flowing with gold and sweeter than honey, as they gush to all about the dogmas of the orthodox faith.

The first verse alludes to Gregory of Nazianzus, who perhaps refers to a lost poem, at his oration 21.29: ποιητοῦ δὲ ἦν ἄρα καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον εἰπεῖν, τὸν χρυσορόαν ὄντως καὶ εὔσταχυν ('it were indeed a poet's task to describe also the Nile, of really golden stream and rich in corn').[48] μέλιτος γλυκίω in verse 2 reminds of *Il.* 1.249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή, but here it also comes from Gregory of Nazianzus, *AP* 8.136 τὸν μέλιτος γλυκίω ἤθεα καὶ πραπίδας (*sc.* φέροντα).

The *Homeric Hymns* in particular could provide inspiration for hymnic expressions of praise. Homer and any hexametric poetry, including the *Homeric Hymns*, would certainly offer a valuable source of language and thought for compositions in hexameters, which were especially demanding for Byzantine scholars who, as mentioned earlier, had great difficulties with the metrical rules. Perhaps John wanted to attempt composing hexametric verses himself, but there are no signs that he finally did so. In any case, the large number of manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns* from the fifteenth century suggests an interest in these texts during John's time and it is thus not difficult to understand his own interest as well. This interest was to

[46] See e.g. Simelidis (2009), 68–9.

[47] L. Petit, 'Acolouthie de Marc Eugénicos, archevêque d'Éphèse', *Studi bizantini* 2 (1927), 211.18–23.

[48] Cf. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 203c μόνος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ χρυσορόας καλούμενος Νεῖλος μετὰ τροφῶν ἀφθόνων καὶ χρυσὸν ἀκίβδηλον καταφέρει ἀκινδύνως γεωργούμενον ('for only the Nile, rightly called the river "streaming with gold", brings down both bounteous food and pure gold which can be gathered without danger'), with the apparatus from G. Kaibel, *Athenaei Naucratitae Dipnosophistarum libri XV*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1887), 450.

some extent related to an allegorical interpretation of ancient hymns by Plethon (John's possible tutor in philosophy), who even influenced the contents of a group of manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns*.[49]

In my view John consciously selected the *Homeric Hymns* for inclusion in this manuscript and I do not see their presence here as a good indication that his original was a manuscript which included both Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*, as has been assumed. Such a manuscript could have been available, but I do not consider M to be a sufficient indication of its existence. A scribe like John Eugenikos would have had access to the best libraries in Constantinople and could have selected from different sources what he wanted to include in a manuscript.[50] In Parisinus gr. 2075, a manuscript he was writing while travelling from Ancona to Durrës (11–22 May 1439),[51] John included, among others, some of his own letters followed by letters of Libanius, Basil of Caesarea, and Synesius, all models for Byzantine epistolographers. His imitation of Synesius has already been noticed.[52] Philostratus' *Imagines* are followed by his own encomium of Trebizond[53] and ecphrasis of a platanus.[54] The last text of this manuscript is an iambic monody by Theodore Prodromos, written on behalf of Eirene the sevastokratorissa who laments her husband, sevastokrator Andronikos (second son of the Emperor John II Komnenos), who

[49] See M. Mavroudi, 'Pletho as Subversive and his Reception in the Islamic World', in D. Angelov and M. Saxby (eds), *Power and Subversion in Byzantium* (Farnham, 2013), 180–1, 190–1 and M. L. West, 'The Eighth Homeric Hymn and Proclus', *CQ* 20 (1970), 304.

[50] For John Eugenikos as scribe, see e.g. Gamillscheg and Harlfinger (1989), 94–5, no. 217 and E. Mineva, *Το υμνογραφικό έργο του Μάρκου Ευγενικού* (Athens, 2004), 229–32 (on codex Dujcev gr. 16 = olim Cosinitzensis 192).

[51] According to John's colophon, which is printed by Rossidou-Koutsou (2004), xxvi n. 35. It is sometimes assumed that John copied the whole of this manuscript (418 folia) during this period. However, the colophon (on f. 281v) seems only to refer to an oration of thanksgiving (ff. 244–81) for his survival from a shipwreck during his return trip to Constantinople. Cf. J. Cirignano, 'The Manuscripts of Xenophon's *Symposium*', *GRBS* 34 (1993), 200 n. 42. On the thanksgiving oration, see now Pizzone (2013).

[52] S. Kourouses, '*Μιχαὴλ Ἀποστόλης καὶ Ἰωάννης Εὐγενικὸς μιμούμενοι τὸν ἐπιστολογράφον Συνέσιον*', *Athena* 81 (1990–6).

[53] Published by T. L. F. Tafel, *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula: accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus, e codicibus mss. Basileensi, Parisinis, Veneto* (Frankfurt, 1832), 370–3 and O. Lampsides, '*Ἰωάννου Εὐγενικοῦ ἔκφρασις Τραπεζοῦντος*', *Archeion Pontou* 20 (1955), 3–39.

[54] Published by J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* (Paris, 1844), 331–5.

died in 1142.[55] This text reminds one of John's own prose monody for Maria of Trebizond, the third wife of the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (*r.* 1425–48), which is found earlier in the manuscript.[56] The manuscript also includes several of his own and his brother Mark's works, as well as texts by John Chrysostom, Nilus of Ancyra, Plutarch, Philo, Josephus, Plethon, Maximus Confessor, Theodora Palaiologina, Marcus Antonius, and Leo VI, each of whom would undoubtedly have been of some special interest to John.

Could M be linked to a particular period of John Eugenikos' life? The manuscript is dated by the watermarks to the early fifteenth century.[57] Gelzer speculates that M was copied after John's return from Italy in 1439.[58] However, these were upsetting years (partly spent in the Peloponnese) devoted to a persistent anti-unionist campaign, as is evident from John's letters. John tried to win back those who had supported the union and at the same time encourage the opponents of the union. He suffered disappointments and the death of his brother Mark (1445) increased his responsibilities within the anti-unionist party.[59] It would not have been impossible for him to copy M during these years, but there is a more likely period for this activity. John was first educated in a private school founded by his father. His brother Mark was in charge of this institution after their father's death in 1405. This information is given by John himself in the vita of his brother which he wrote.[60] His brother could have remained in this post until 1420, when he became a monk. John was then about twenty-five years old and the next year (1421) he moved to the Peloponnese where he remained until 1431. Upon his return he became Patriarchal notary and later *chartophylax* and *nomophylax*. During this period John seems to have taught in Constantinople, as the title 'philosopher' assigned to

[55] This is carmen XLV in the edition of W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* (Vienna, 1974).

[56] The text has been published by S. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, Vol. 1 (Athens, 1912), 112–14.

[57] See N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 65 (with n. 2), where it is also stated that Nigel G. Wilson 'confirms that the date is probably in the first quarter of the fifteenth century'.

[58] Gelzer (1994), 124. Cf. M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 22 n. 23.

[59] Rossidou-Koutsou (2004), xxvii–xxxi.

[60] See Petit (1927), 213.30. Cf. S. Petrides, 'Le synaxaire de Marc d'Ephese', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910), 100.

him sometimes may indicate.[61] He certainly taught Giovanni Tortelli (*c.*1400–66), the future Vatican librarian and author of a treatise on orthography, who studied in Constantinople in the years 1435–7.[62] Tortelli states so in a copy of Thucydides with which John Eugenikos presented him.[63] During the same period he also taught Antonio Cassarino, who went to Constantinople to study philosophy and literature. John instilled in him an enthusiasm for Plato (Cassarino would later translate Plato's *Republic*) and gave him a codex with works by the Classical philosopher.[64] After all, the inclusion of the *Homeric Hymns* in M may reflect an interest of one of his pupils.[65] These years of education, as a student and later as a teacher, seem to me a more likely time for John's copying of M. If so, the *Iliad*, the major school text in Byzantium, fits perfectly well in the same manuscript.[66]

[61] Rossidou-Koutsou (2004), xxiv–xxv.

[62] For Tortelli and the testimonia to the *Hymns* in his treatise, see Chapter 15 in this volume, p. 278.

[63] A. Cataldi Palau, 'Learning Greek in Fifteenth-Century Constantinople', in A. Cataldi Palau (ed.), *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, Vol. 1 (Spoleto, 2008), 226.

[64] J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden and New York, 1990), 154–5.

[65] For fifteenth-century humanists who knew the *Homeric Hymns*, see Chapters 15 and 16 in this volume. For the possible use of the *Homeric Hymns* as school-texts in the Classical period, see Richardson (2010), 153, and Vergados (2013), 218. It is worth mentioning that *P.Oxy.* 68.4667 (third century AD) gives the end of *h.Hom.* 18 and the beginning of *h.Hom.* 7 in that (otherwise unattested) order, which may indicate a selection of hymns made by a teacher.

[66] I wish to thank Andrew Faulkner, Maria Mavroudi, and Athanassios Vergados for their constructive comments.

14

Theodoros Prodromos' Historical Poems

A Hymnic Celebration of John II Komnenos

Andrew Faulkner

Within the eleventh- and twelfth-century renaissance of dynamic engagement with the Classical heritage,[1] the poet and scholar Theodoros Prodromos stands as a central figure.[2] Active in the court of the Komnenid emperors, his literary output was both extensive and varied, although the precise limits of his corpus are, like the details of his life, unclear.[3] He wrote poetry and prose on topics both secular

[1] On the renewed interest in Classical heritage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, manifest in authors such as Michael Psellos, Theodoros Prodromos, and John Tsetzes, see the seminal work of A. Kazhdan and A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley and London, 1985), with a good summary of their arguments in P. Magdalino, 'Cultural Change? The Context of Byzantine Poetry from Geometres to Prodromos', in F. Bernard and K. Demoen (eds), *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-century Byzantium* (Farnham, 2012), 19. Also A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2007), 225–316, who places Prodromos' work within what he calls the 'Third Sophistic' of the twelfth century.

[2] Much of Prodromos' biography is uncertain. He was most probably born *c.*1100 and died possibly as late as *c.*1170. See Hörandner (1974), 21–35, and A. Kazhdan, 'Theodore Prodromos: A Reappraisal', in A. Kazhdan and S. Franklin (eds), *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), 92–101.

[3] For a survey of Prodromos' oeuvre, including uncertain or falsely attributed works, see Hörandner (1974), 37–72, and Kazhdan (1984). Whether 'Ptochoprodromos' ('Poor Prodromos'), to whom the tradition ascribes four poems, was Prodromos himself or an imitator is disputed. See against H. Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromus: Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar* (Cologne, 1991), 24–40, but more positively M. Alexiou, 'The Poverty of Écriture and the Craft of Writing: Toward a Reappraisal of the Prodromic Poems', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 10

and theological, amongst which historical/biographical poems, the satirical drama *Katomyomachia* (*Battle of Cats and Mice*), the humorous *Bion Prasis* (*Sale of Lives*) inspired by Lucian's work of the same name, speeches, letters, scholarly commentary, and the romantic novel *Rodanthe and Dosikles*.[4] We are in the twelfth century no doubt a world away from the particular literary innovations of the Hellenistic or Imperial periods, but Prodromos nonetheless confronts the form and content of Classical literature in his own creative and original manner. His works indeed betray a profound knowledge of Classical literature, of which he is no superficial imitator.

In this chapter I will explore aspects of Theodoros Prodromos' poetic praise of the emperor John II Komnenos in his historical poems. In doing so, I will offer evidence that Prodromos knew and consciously interacted with the ancient tradition of hexameter hymns and was on some level familiar with the *Homeric Hymns*. Prodromos' historical poems, which are composed in a variety of metres (decapentasyllable, dodecasyllable, octasyllable, pentameter, and hexameter),[5] celebrate particular historical events and pay tribute to Prodromos' patrons. In this context of praise, hymnic form and style are frequent characteristics of the poems.[6] It would therefore not be surprising, particularly in Prodromos' hexameter compositions, should ancient hexameter hymns have exerted some influence on the poet.

With this general observation in mind, I should like to give particular attention to a group of the historical poems (III–VI) in celebration of John II Komnenos' campaign in the early 1130s against Kastamon, the former Komnenian family home in northern Anatolia at that time occupied by the Danishmendids.[7] In these poems,

(1986); R. Beaton, 'The Rhetoric of Poverty: The Lives and Opinions of Theodore Prodromos', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11 (1987); and A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2007), 238.

[4] The *Katomyomachia* is edited by H. Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg* (Graz, Vienna, and Cologne, 1968), the historical/biographical poems by Hörandner (1974), and the *Rodanthe and Dosicles* by M. Marcovich, *Theodorus Prodromus: Rhodanthe et Dosicles* (Stuttgart, 1992). On the *Bion Prasis* see the recent useful examination by P. Marciniak, 'Theodore Prodromos' *Bion Prasis*: A Reappraisal', *GRBS* 53 (2013). Much detailed work remains to be done on the Prodromic corpus.

[5] See Hörandner (1974), 123–33. In some instances, more than one metre is used in the same poem.

[6] Cf. Hörandner (1974), 79.

[7] These are the first extant poems dedicated by Prodromos to John II. See Kazhdan (1984), 97–8. For John II's campaigns against Kastamon, see Ioannes Kinnamos

Prodromos commemorates John II's capture of Kastamon and the celebrations that follow. The first in the series (III) describes the campaign in 128 hexameters. The second (IV), which consists of decapentasyllables arranged in decastichs (290 lines), celebrates the victory in a hymnic tone. The third (V), again composed of decapentasyllables in decastichs (100 lines), calls upon the emperor to mount his chariot for the triumphal procession. The last of the group (VI), a detailed description (or *ekphrasis*) of the triumphal procession held for John II in 1133 on his victorious return to Constantinople,[8] is again written in hexameter verse (220 lines). As it is on this last poem that I will first concentrate, a fuller description of its contents is in order.

The poem begins with an appeal to the *θυμός* to set aside the topic of John II's military exploits and instead to hymn (*ὕμνεε*, 8) the glorious things accomplished during the celebratory triumph (1–9). The emperor has completed his military exploits and returns home (10–20). Constantinople does not neglect his homecoming but rushes to see him and makes preparations for the triumph (21–39). In an extended simile, the city is compared to a bride awaiting the bridegroom, and its people gather to see the emperor (40–52), with a prayer to Christ that John II might arrive quickly (53–6). There then follows a description of his chariot, fashioned in his palace, and the horses that pull it (57–97). Nor do the literary artists remain idle: rhetors and poets, including Prodromos himself, compose prose and verse to honour the emperor (98–104). The day of the procession arrives, the gates of the city are opened wide, and the people gather to watch (105–15). First enter armed soldiers, then captured Turkish leaders on horseback and women carrying children, followed by mules bearing the foreign plunder (116–35). There then come the emperor's Arabian horses, followed by a group of clergy, abounding in clear-voiced chanters, singing triumphal songs to God (136–46). Next come the four factions of chariot racers, white, red, blue, and

(pp. 13–15 ed. A. Meineke) and Niketas Choniates (pp. 18–20 ed. J. van Dieten). Cf. Hörandner (1974), 191–2 and P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 240–1.

[8] On this first recorded triumph of the Komnenian period, see Magdalino (1993), 240: 'That this was a conscious revival of a long redundant practice is clear from Kinnamos' remark that such an event had not been seen in Constantinople since the age of Justinian and Heraclius.' In this instance, therefore, the classicizing hexameter verse suits the classicizing nature of the event described.

green, who sing paeans composed by Prodromos (147–51), and then rush the gold-clad senate and the relatives of the glorious emperor (152–4). Then, at long last, comes the beautifully adorned emperor himself, not in his chariot as advised by the city and Patriarch, but on foot before it, with a cross in one hand and an enigmatic scroll of paper in the other (155–68). He walks on laurel leaves to the sound of cymbals, drums, and trumpets and the earth beneath him rejoices as it is trodden upon by his ambrosial sandals (169–71). He is accompanied by his four sons, the oldest in front, at whose sight the people rejoice, praying for long life and glory (172–87). The Patriarch, despite his old age, also processes (188–98). The *θυμός* is once again addressed before the introduction of the ultimate wonder: the icon of the Mother of God is borne piously along on the chariot where the emperor might have sat (210). The triumphal procession complete, John II makes offerings of thanks to God in Hagia Sophia and returns to his palace (211–20).

The evocative comparison of the expectant Constantinople to a young bride awaiting her bridegroom (40–52) underlines at the outset of the poem John II's close connection with the city and its bright adornment on the occasion of his triumph, as well as the people's wonderment at their emperor.[9] The particular language of this passage repays close attention:

> *ὡς δ' ὅτε κουριδίη ἀρτίγαμος εἶδος ἀρίστη* 40
> *παστάσι νυμφιδίοισιν ἐνέζεται, αὐτὰρ ἀκοίτην*
> *μίμνει, ὅς οἱ λεχέων ἀντιάσοι· ὡς δὲ σελήνη*
> *χρυσείοισι πέπλοισι φαείνεται, ὄμματα δ' ἀνδρῶν*
> *πάντα περιτροπάδην ἐπισύρεται, οἱ δέ μιν αἰὲν*
> *εἰσορόωντες ἄλαστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θάμβος ἔχουσιν* 45
> *καὶ θεὸν ὣς γερέθουσιν, ὅς οἱ ἀνὰ δέμνια βαίη·*
> *ὣς ἄρα καὶ σύμπασα πόλις τότε λαμπρὰ φαάνθη*
> *κοιράνου Αὐσονίων ποτιδεγμένη εἴσοδον ἁβράν.* 48

As when a beautiful young girl, just married, sits in her bridal chamber and awaits her husband, who will enjoy her bed with her, and like the moon she shines in her golden robes, and from every direction are drawn to her all eyes of men, who continuously watching her have an unending wonder in their hearts and honour the man who mounts her

[9] For Constantinople as a young and beautiful bride (*νύμφη*), cf. *Carm. Hist.* 19. 112–21.

bed as if he were God. So the whole city then shone brightly, awaiting the splendid entrance of the Ausonian ruler.

C. Simelidis has previously demonstrated that there is complex intertextuality at play in this passage:[10] within the erotic context of the simile, the honouring of the bridegroom (and thus indirectly the emperor) as if he were God, due to his success with such a beautiful woman, recalls the notion expressed at Sappho fr. 31.1–5, where the narrator compares a rival lover to the gods (*ἴσος θέοισιν*) because of his proximity to the beloved;[11] the rare verb *ἐνέζεται* 'to sit in' recalls its only other use in an erotic context in an amatory epigram of Paul Silentarios *AP* 5. 268. 5;[12] the unique form *γερέθουσιν*,[13] evidently 'to honour', is also shown to be borrowed from Gregory of Nazianzus, whom Prodromos knew and respected, through misunderstanding or faulty transmission of Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2. 1. 1. 280 *ἀγγελικοί τε χοροὶ ψαλμοῖς θεὸν οἵ γ' ἐρέθουσιν* ('the angelic choirs who honour God with Psalms'), itself very probably an inversion of Euphorion (*Suppl. Hell.* 415. ii. 8) *οἵ ῥα θεοὺς ἐρέθωσι*, where *ἐρέθω* is used in its negative sense of enemies angering the gods.

Two of these examples bring to mind passages of erotic lyric and epigram, to which I would suggest we can add an instance of allusion to an erotic passage of hexameter poetry. As she waits for her bridegroom to arrive, the young bride of Prodromos' simile shines like the moon in her golden robes (*ὡς δὲ σελήνη | χρυσείοισι πέπλοισι φαείνεται*, 42–3). The combination of language and context recall Aphrodite's appearance in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* before Anchises in the form of a beautiful young maiden, who in her finery shines like the moon:

> *στῆ δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη* 81
> *παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη,*

[10] C. Simelidis, 'Honouring the Bridegroom like God: Theodore Prodromos *Carm. Hist.* 6. 46', *GRBS* 46 (2006).

[11] Sappho fr. 31. 1–5 Voigt *φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν | ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι | ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί- | σας ὑπακούει | καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν*, famously adapted by Catullus 51. 1–4.

[12] Elsewhere only twice earlier at Aesch. *Pers.* 140–1, [Arist.] *Pr.* 5. 11.

[13] Used once more by Prodromos at *Epigrammata in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* 283b3, ed. G. Papagiannis, *Theodoros Prodromos: Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments* (Wiesbaden, 1997), where it again means 'to honour': *ῥήματα σεῦ γερέθοντες θείους ἠύτε χρησμούς* ('honouring your words like divine oracles').

μή μιν ταρβήσειεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας.
Ἀγχίσης δ' ὁρόων ἐφράζετο θάμβαινέν τε
εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε καὶ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα. 85
πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἔεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς,
εἶχε δ' ἐπιγναμπτὰς ἕλικας κάλυκάς τε φαεινάς,
ὅρμοι δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν
καλοὶ χρύσειοι παμποίκιλοι· ὡς δὲ σελήνη
στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἁπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι. 90

The daughter of Zeus Aphrodite stood before him in appearance and stature like an untamed maiden, in order that he should not be frightened beholding her with his eyes. And Anchises, seeing her, contemplated her and was amazed at her appearance and stature and her glittering clothes. Her robe was brighter than the light of fire; she had twisted bracelets and shining earrings, and there were most beautiful necklaces around her soft neck, lovely, golden, and most ornate. It shone like the moon around her soft breast, a wonder to behold.

In both poems beautiful young maidens at the age of marriage are described; the bride in Prodromos is just married (*ἀρτίγαμος*, 40), while Aphrodite in her disguise claims (*h.Aphr.* 107–43) that she has been brought by Hermes to Ida to marry Anchises and bear his children. The similarity of the comparison of the maiden to the moon in both passages is particularly striking: the collocation *ὡς δὲ σελήνη* at the end of the verse in both *Carm. Hist.* 6. 42 and *h.Aphr.* 89 appears nowhere else in extant Greek poetry.[14] The young wife in Prodromos' poem also shines golden like Aphrodite: it is the maiden's robes that are golden (*χρυσείοισι πέπλοισι φαείνεται*, 43), whereas Aphrodite sports golden necklaces (*ὅρμοι . . . | καλοὶ χρύσειοι παμποίκιλοι*, *h.Aphr.* 88–9), but the goddess too wears a bright robe, one that shines brighter than the light of fire (*h.Aphr.* 86). The reaction of the external male audience to the beauty is also similar in both instances: in the *Homeric Hymn* Anchises reacts with wonder at the sight of the

[14] For comparison of a woman to the shining moon, cf. Sappho fr. 96. 6–9 Voigt *νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναί- | κεσσιν ὥς ποτ' ἀελίω | δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος <σελάννα> | πάντα περ<ρ>έχοισ' ἄστρα*, with the commentary of G. Hutchinson, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 2001), 177–86. See also *Od.* 24. 148, where Penelope's shroud (*φᾶρος*) is compared to the sun and moon, and for further parallels A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008), 170–1. At *Carm. Hist.* 4. 37 Constantinople is described as *ὅλη καλὴ καὶ τηλαυγής, ὅλη λελαμπρυσμένη*, for which compare the bright clothing of Selene at *h.Hom.* 32. 8 *εἵματα τηλαυγέα*.

goddess (*Ἀγχίσης δ' ὁρόων ἐφράζετο θάμβαινέν τε*, *h.Aphr.* 84), while in the Prodromic passage the men, whose eyes are drawn to the maiden, respond also with wonder at the sight of her (*εἰσορόωντες ἄλαστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θάμβος ἔχουσιν*, 45).[15] Prodromos will also have had in mind Judaeo-Christian models: strikingly similar is Septuagint *Cant.* 6: 10 *τίς αὕτη ἡ ἐκκύπτουσα ὡσεὶ ὄρθρος, καλὴ ὡς σελήνη, ἐκλεκτὴ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, θάμβος ὡς τεταγμέναι* ('Who is she proceeding forth like the dawn, beautiful as the moon, clear as the sun, awesome as an army arrayed'), in the context of a woman being compared to cities, and the cosmic comparison of the emperor and his bride to the sun and moon is a topos of Byzantine panegyric.[16] The figure of the young bride in shining clothing and the similarity of the language nonetheless strongly recall Aphrodite's appearance in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, as motifs of Byzantine and Classical literature are brought together.

The allusion may be more than a superficial reminiscence of the hymnic passage, for at issue in both episodes are the appearance of and closeness to divinity. This theme is made explicit in *Carm. Hist.* 6 through the onlookers' honouring of the emperor as if he is God (*καὶ θεὸν ὡς γερέθουσιν*, 46). But if Prodromos' poem is first and foremost a celebration of John II, it is also a glorification of Constantinople, the great city to which he returns (*πόλιν μεγάλην μετανοστῶν*, 21). As indicated earlier, the simile of the newly wedded wife receiving her husband draws particular attention to the close link between emperor and city, a connection whose implications are deepened by the intertext. If the bridegroom, and therefore indirectly the emperor, is honoured like God, the implication being not that he is in essence

[15] The attraction of men's eyes to a moonlike beauty is also very close to Xen. *Symp.* 1. 9 *ὥσπερ ὅταν φέγγος τι ἐν νυκτὶ φανῇ πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τότε τοῦ Αὐτολύκου τὸ κάλλος πάντων εἶλκε τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς αὐτόν*, noted by Simelidis (2006), 88. On the reading *θάμβαινε* at *h.Aphr.* 84, transmitted by the *p* group where the other manuscripts have *θαύμαινεν*, see Faulkner (2008), 165–6. Quite apart from the original reading, Prodromos may very well have known the hymn from a source which read *θάμβαινε*.

[16] Cf. *Cant.* 6. 4 *καλὴ εἶ, ἡ πλησίον μου, ὡς εὐδοκία, ὡραία ὡς Ἰερουσαλήμ, θάμβος ὡς τεταγμέναι*. For Byzantine panegyric, see Psellos *Or. Paneg.* 2 pp. 35–6 (also 43) ed. Dennis (panegyric for Constantine IX Monomachos) *ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς . . . οἱά τις σελήνη δᾳδουχεῖ τὰ ἀνάκτορα* and later Nicetas Choniates *Or.* 5 p. 36 ed. van Dieten (*epithalamios* for Isaac II and Margaret of Hungary) *καὶ ἥλιος ὢν αὐτὸς σελήνῃ συνοδεύει τηλεφανεῖ*. Cf. H. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Vol. 1 (Munich, 1978), 150.

divine but that he is as emperor closely linked to God through his special relationship with Constantinople,[17] the recollection of the disguised Aphrodite shining like the moon casts a holy lustre also on the figure of Constantinople. Aphrodite is in the *Homeric Hymn* a divinity behind a mortal disguise, a fact which Anchises initially recognizes, in part due to her divine radiance;[18] he first addresses her as a goddess and offers to build a temple for her.[19] Constantinople too, behind any mortal trappings, is a holy Christian city, the seat of the Patriarch, filled with churches and the Hagia Sophia, the great cathedral of the East which features prominently at the end of the poem. A reader familiar with the *Homeric Hymn* might also recall that Anchises and his family, like the figure of the bridegroom/emperor, are emphatically announced as godlike throughout the poem, a quality which is enhanced by their close association with Aphrodite.[20]

The marked relationship of John II to God and the particular holiness of Constantinople are central themes of *Carm. Hist.* 6. The piety of the emperor is emphasized throughout: having set aside his armour, he enters the city carrying a cross aloft in one hand (165–6); he gives place of honour to the icon of the Mother of God, allowing it to ride upon his chariot while he walks in front (199–200)—who of the other kings ever did such a thing, asks the narrator rhetorically;[21] and before he retires to his palace, he first goes to Hagia Sophia to make thank offerings to God:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἵκοντο θεοῦ σοφίης ποτὶ νηόν
> κάλλεϊ καὶ μεγέθει ναῶν προφερέστατον ἄλλων,
> ἐνθάδ' ἄναξ δίφρον τε θεῷ πόρε κάλλιμον ἱρόν

[17] For the likening of the emperor to God, cf. *Carm. Hist.* 10a. 1–20, where the actions of John II parallel those of Christ.

[18] On Aphrodite's radiance as suggestive of partial epiphany, see Faulkner (2008) with further bibliography.

[19] It has been questioned whether Anchises does in fact see through Aphrodite's disguise, on the grounds that the likening of the maiden to a goddess is a typical compliment, but the offer to build a temple and make sacrifices suggests genuine suspicion. See further Faulkner (2008), 173–4.

[20] Cf. of Anchises *h.Aphr.* 55 δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ἐοικώς and 77 θεῶν ἀπὸ κάλλος ἔχοντα and see Faulkner (2008), 9–10.

[21] On the disingenuousness of the rhetorical question, see Magdalino (1993), 241, who points out that a precedent for this honour given to the Mother of God was set by John I Tsimiskes in the tenth century; Tsimiskes, however, rode behind the chariot on a white horse whereas Komnenos walks piously in front.

καί θ' ἱερὸν χιτῶνα μετέσσατο, ἄδυτα δ' αὐτά 215
ἔσμολε κηροφόρος μετ' ἀμύμονος ἀρχιερῆος
οἷος, ἀτὰρ στεφάνην βασιλήϊον ἀμφὶ τραπέζῃ
θῆχ' ἱερῇ κειμήλιον οὐρανίῳ βασιλῆι. 218

But when they arrived at the church of God, Hagia Sophia, greatest of all churches in both its beauty and its size, there the king gave over to God his beautiful and holy chariot and put on a holy vestment; and into the sanctuary he went bearing a candle, alone together only with the blameless Patriarch, and he placed his kingly crown upon the holy table as an offering to the heavenly King.

The grandeur and beauty of Hagia Sophia are emphasized as the emperor turns over to God his glorious chariot, a symbol of secular military power, and adopts a holy vestment in order to enter the church together with the Patriarch. The convergence of secular power, piety, and holiness in the figure of John II is thereby underlined at the poem's close, where the emperor's special connection to God, suggested at the outset by the simile of the bridegroom, is hinted at once again through the explicit juxtaposition of earthly and heavenly kingship: the emperor lays his kingly crown (*στεφάνην βασιλήϊον*, 217) on the holy table for God the heavenly King (*οὐρανίῳ βασιλῆι*, 218). This in fact echoes a very similar juxtaposition of divine and earthly kingship earlier in the poem, in the prayer of the anonymous inhabitant of Constantinople just after the simile of the bridegroom:

'Χριστὲ ἄνα κλυτοεργέ, τάχος τάχος, οὐ μετὰ δηρόν, 54
ἥξοι ἄναξ μεγάθυμος ἀνὰ πτόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν,
καί μιν ἰδὼν γηθήσομ', ἐμὼν δὲ λάθοιμ' ὀδυνάων.' 56

'Christ king, glorious in your deeds, quickly, quickly, without delay, may the great-hearted king arrive in the city with wide streets, and seeing him I will rejoice, and may I forget my pains.'

The opening invocation of this prayer recalls Gregory of Nazianzus, who frequently employs the address *Χριστὲ ἄναξ* in his poetry.[22] Indeed, this invocation elsewhere takes on programmatic meaning

[22] Gregory, who appears to have coined the invocation, uses it some fifteen times (thirteen at the beginning of the verse), including prominently at the outset of his biographical poems II. 1. 1. 1 *Χριστὲ ἄναξ, ὅς . . .*, where the relative expansion conveys a hymnic tone. For influence on the tenth-century poet John Geometres (17. 1, 300. 1, 87), see E. van Opstall, *Jean Géomètres: Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques* (Leiden, 2008), 138–9 and C. Simelidis, *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus: I.2.17; II.1.10, 19.32: A Critical Edition with Introduction and*

for Prodromos' reading of Gregory's Christian poetry. Amidst his epigrams on the life of Saint Gregory, in the second of a pair of poems on the theme of Gregory writing epic poetry due to Julian the Apostate's prohibition of Christians reading pagan literature, Prodromos addresses the question to Julian: 'Why king do you conceal [the poetic invocation] "Sing goddess of the anger"? "Christ King" is much superior, in as much as Christ is himself far greater than dead goddesses. Let me speak of Gregory: and you conceal all Homers' (*τίπτε τὸ 'μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ' περικεύθεαι, ἄναξ;* | *ἔστι τὸ 'Χριστὲ ἄναξ' πολὺ λώϊον, ὅσσα καὶ αὐτὸς* | *Χριστὸς ἔοι θεάων μέγα φέρτατος οὐλομενάων.* | *Γρηγόριον λαλέοιμι, ὅλους δὲ σὺ κεῦθε Ὁμήρους*).[23] For Prodromos, the address of Christ at the outset of Gregory's Christian biographical poems supersedes the Iliadic invocation of the Muses. Christian classicizing poetry thus surpasses its pagan models.[24] In both these instances earthly and divine kingship are directly compared through the repetition of the word *ἄναξ*. In the epigram, the juxtaposition is a negative one: even as the direct comparison is between the poetry of Gregory and Homer, the term *ἄναξ* juxtaposes the earthly kingship of the apostate Julian and the far superior (*πολὺ λώϊον*) divine kingship of Christ. In *Carm. Hist.* 6, the comparison with John II is a positive one: Christ the divine king (*ἄνα*, 54) provides for the earthly king (*ἄναξ*, 55).

Prodromos walks a fine line here. Unlike his Classical models for hexameter praise of a ruler, he cannot in the Christian framework imply actual divinity in the figure of John II. One might recall in this context the Hesiodic maxim that earthly kings come from Zeus (*ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες*),[25] quoted so memorably by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Zeus* 79–80 ('*ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες*', *ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων* | *θειότερον*), 'kings come from Zeus, for there is nothing more divine

Commentary (Göttingen, 2009), 67, 162, who notes the impact of the phrase on Prodromos and later Theodoros Metochites (*c.*1270–1332).

[23] 19b M. D'Ambrosi, *I tetrastici giambici ed esametrici sugli episodi principali della vita di Gregorio Nazianzeno* (Rome, 2008) (*εἰς Γρηγόριον ἐποποιοῦντα, διὰ τὸ κωλῦσαι Ἰουλιανὸν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ Ὁμήρου*). Cf. also *Carm. Hist.* 78. 43 *Χριστὲ ἄναξ, μεσία, ὃς καὶ προεπήξαο πάντα.*

[24] On St Gregory of Nazianzus' prioritization of Christian content in adapting Classical models, see Simelidis (2009), 34–7.

[25] Echoed in the derivative *h.Hom.* 25. 4 (to the Muses and Apollo). Cited by sch. *Il.* 1. 176 *διοτρεφέων βασιλήων*, Stob. 4. 6. 7, Eustathius (p. 120 ed. van der Valk), and Apostol. 6. 99a.

than the kings of Zeus'. Callimachus' close association of earthly kings with Zeus sets the stage for a direct comparison and blurring of Zeus and the Ptolemaic king, who takes on the divine qualities of Zeus, bringing to completion in the evening what he conceives in the morning and fulfilling small things even as he conceives them (Call. *Hy.* 1. 87–8).[26] As we have seen, Prodromos too likens king and God, but he does so within the bounds of Christian piety.

This ending of *Carm. Hist.* 6 is not structurally hymnic; the emperor returns in a state of joy to his palace. But the hymnic tone is signalled at the outset of the poem by the exhortation of the *θυμός* to 'hymn and not be silent' (*ὕμνεε μηδὲ σιγήσῃς*, 8). The narrator also later portrays himself as a composer of hymns: he too takes part in the literary celebration of the emperor (98–104) and the processing circus factions sing metrical paeans composed by the poet (*δημόται ἄνδρες | βαῖνον ὑπὸ στομάτεσσιν ἀγαλλομένοις λαλαγεῦντες | παιάνας ἐκ μέτροιο, ἐμὸν πόνον οὐκ ἐπικεύσω*, 147–9). The opening invocation of the *θυμός* may also have been inspired by hymnic models. An address to the *θυμός* does not necessarily carry a hymnic tone,[27] but in combination with the explicit command to 'hymn' (*ὕμνεε*, 8) at the outset of a hexameter poem, the invocation of the *θυμός* brings to mind the unusual opening of Callimachus' fourth hymn to Delos: 'O heart, when will you sing of Delos, the nursemaid of Apollo?' (*τὴν ἱερήν, ὦ θυμέ, τίνα χρόνον ἢ πότ' ἀείσεις | Δῆλον, Ἀπόλλωνος κουροτρόφον*, 1–2). Prodromos' use of the figure could once again owe to direct influence from Gregory of Nazianzus, who himself echoes Callimachus' hymnic opening in the first line of the third of the so-called *Poemata Arcana*, a hexameter poem magnifying the Holy Spirit: 'Heart, why do you tarry? Sing also the praise of the

[26] On the blurring of the figures of Zeus and Ptolemaic king in Callimachus' hymn, see M. Depew, 'Gender, Power, and Poetics in Callimachus' Book of *Hymns*', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds), *Hellenistica Groningana*: *Callimachus II* (Leuven, 2004), 120.

[27] Cf. Pi. *N.* 3. 26, where the *θυμός* is bidden to 'bring the Muse to Aeacus and his race', with I. L. Pfeijffer, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar* (Leiden, 1999), 303, on the address as a 'break-off' device, and *O.* 2. 89. Elsewhere in lyric an emotional appeal can be made to the heart for strength or endurance: e.g. Archilochus 128. 1 West, Theognis 1. 695. On speech acts involving the *θυμός* in Homer and Pindar, see H. Pelliccia, 'Unlocking *Aeneid* 6, 460: Plautus' *Amphitryon*, Euripides' *Protesilaus* and the Referent of Callimachus' *Coma*', *CJ* 106 (1995). Further parallels and discussion in W. H. Mineur, *Callimachus, Hymn to Delos. Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden, 1984), 49–50, on Call. *Hy.* 4. 1.

Spirit' (*θυμέ, τί δηθύνεις; καὶ πνεύματος εὖχος ἄειδε*, 1).[28] The address to the *θυμός* can also be associated with Judaeo-Christian hymnody, namely the Psalms: in the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, a Late Antique hexameter paraphrase of the Septuagint Psalms, the Psalmic address to the *ψυχή* is on four occasions rendered with the phrase *θυμέ, τί δηθύνεις*, for which the source was once again possibly Gregory.[29] This said, Prodromos may well have had direct knowledge of Callimachus' *Hymns*. The allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* discussed above opens up this possibility, for the *Homeric Hymns* were in the manuscript tradition often transmitted together with the hymns of Callimachus and Proclus.[30]

Prodromos elsewhere prominently advertises his knowledge and adaptation of Homer as poet of the *Iliad*. The decastichic *Carm. Hist.* 4, another of the poems in celebration of the capture of Kastamon, is hymnic at its outset. After a sphragis in the first decastich, in which the poet dedicates his work to the emperor, the narrator calls upon Constantinople to hymn its emperor (*ὕμνησον τὸν δεσπότην σου, τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σου*, 12).[31] Then, near the end of the poem, he evokes the figure of Homer in the context of literary praise:

ἔπρεπε, θεῖε βασιλεῦ, τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν, 251
εἰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἔμμελεν ὑμνῆσαι σου τοὺς ἄθλους,
χρυσῶσαι πάσας ἀγυιάς, ἁπάσας τὰς ἀμφόδους,
στέψαι τῆς γῆς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκ σηρικῶν ἀμφίων
ἐπὶ τετρώρου πτερωτοῦ λαμπρῶς σε καθιδρύσαι, 255
ἀνενεγκεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ἅιδου
ὑμνήσοντά σε, βασιλεῦ, μετὰ στομάτων δέκα·
ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτοις σε τιμᾶν ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἰσχύει,
οἷς γοῦν ἰσχύει τὸ σεπτὸν ἀμείβεταί σου κράτος,
ὕμνοις παιᾶσι προπομπαῖς εὐχαῖς εὐχαριστίαις. 260

[28] The similarity between Gregory and Callimachus was first noticed by R. Keydell, 'Ein dogmatisches Lehrgedicht Gregors von Nazianz', *ByzZ* 44 (1951), 315. On this and more generally the hymnic qualities of the first three *Poemata Arcana*, see A. Faulkner, 'St Gregory of Nazianzus and the Classical Tradition: The *Poemata Arcana* Qua Hymns', *Philologus* 154 (2010c).

[29] On the priority of this expression, see C. Moreschini and D. A. Sykes, *St Gregory of Nazianzus:* Poemata Arcana (Oxford, 1997), 115–16.

[30] Also often with the *Orphic Hymns*. On the manuscript transmission, see F. Càssola, *Inni Omerici* (Milan, 1975), 593–629.

[31] The prophet David is later in the poem invoked as citharode to sing Psalm verses to John II (71–80). Cf. also 279 *καὶ μέλψατε τῷ βασιλεῖ τοὺς πρὸς ἀξίαν ὕμνους*.

> It was fitting, o holy king, for your queenly city, if it was going to celebrate your exploits worthily, to bedeck all its streets and thoroughfares with gold, to garland the face of the earth with silken robes, and to place you gloriously upon a winged chariot, and if possible, o king, to compel Homer to come out of Hades to praise you with ten mouths. But since the city is not able to honour you in this way, thus in the way in which it is able, your august city repays you with hymns, paeans, processions, prayers, and thanksgivings.

This striking image of a ten-mouthed Homer returning from Hades to honour the emperor comes in the context of his military exploits,[32] and certainly brings to mind the heroic verses of the *Iliad*. Prodromos is adapting the figure from the invocation of the Muses at the outset of the catalogue of ships in *Iliad* 2. 488–90 (*πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω, | οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν, | φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη*). The verb *ὑμνέω* in line 257 should here be taken in a general sense 'to honour/praise', as it clearly is earlier in line 252, without implication of the hymnic form.

Prodromos does not explicitly link the name of Homer with a verse of the *Homeric Hymns* as he does here with the *Iliad*. A very similar formulation, however, to that at *Carm.* 4. 256–7 is found also at the end of *Carm. Hist.* 42, a hexameter poem in honour of Isaak Komnenos, where features of pagan hexameter hymns are plainly echoed. The poem begins in an undeniably hymnic manner with an invocation of Helios in the vocative, followed by an epithet and then expansion by means of a relative pronoun:[33] 'Helios king of the stars, bringer of light to mortals . . . who having jumped aboard your fiery chariot drive it . . .' (*Ἥλιε ἀστεράναξ, φαεσίμβροτε . . . | . . . | ὃς φλογέων ὀχέων ἐπιάλμενος ἡνιοχεύεις*, 1–3).[34] The poet then calls upon Helios, who sees everything, to tell of the great deeds and qualities of Isaak (25–53), an encomium within a hymn. The poet takes the floor one

[32] See Kaldellis (2007), 243.

[33] On hymnic expansion through the relative, or a participle, see W. D. Furley and J. M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period. I, The Texts in Translation. II, Greek Texts and Commentary* (Tübingen, 2001), i. 54–5.

[34] Helios is frequently invoked by Prodromos in connection with the emperor, e.g. *Carm. Hist.* 1. 1, 4. 121–30. For earlier hexameter hymns to Helios, see *h.Hom.* 31, *Orph. Hy.* 8, Proclus *Hy.* 1, Nonn. *D.* 40. 369–410. On the special interest in the sun among Neoplatonists, see R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary* (Leiden, 2001), 145–7.

more time to make closing remarks concerning Isaak (54–60). This ending is not typically hymnic in structure, but given the overtly hymnic nature of the opening, it is striking that the final lines echo a topos of ancient hymns, the motif of *aporia* in sufficiently hymning a subject:[35]

> *Τίς τοίνυν χθονίων σε λιγήνεται, ὃν μέγας ἀστήρ*
> *τοῖα λιγήναθ' ὕπερθε; τάχ' ἄξιον οὔτις ἐνίσπῃ*
> *σῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης, Ἰσαάκιε, σῶν τ' ἀρετάων,*
> *οὐδ' εἴ κεν δεκάγλωσσος ἔοι καὶ Ὀλύμπια βάζοι.*
>
> Who now of mortals should praise you, whom the great star has praised from heaven above? For no one could easily proclaim something worthy of your greatness of mind, o Isaak, and your virtues, even if he should have ten tongues and speak of Olympian matters.

A poem which begins as a hymn to Helios, only to become an encomium of Isaak by Helios, in its final verses subtly blurs the boundaries of hymnic celebration. Prodromos adapts the motif of hymnic *aporia* to the Christian context: Isaak is not himself divine, but his deeds and qualities are divinely praised and difficult for mortals to enumerate. But there are also implications for the poet here. Prodromos' hymnic voice both merges with and surpasses that of Homer, the ten-tongued (hymnic?) poet. The question posed is ultimately disingenuous, for even as he poses it Prodromos succeeds where a poet of ten tongues would struggle. To return to the similar image of the ten-mouthed Homer in *Carm. Hist.* 4. 251–60, Prodromos also succeeds where the wider city of Constantinople cannot, through his poetry and his own poetic voice resurrecting Homer from Hades.

[35] Most famously at *h.Ap.* 19–29 (*πῶς τ' ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;*) and 207–15. Cf. later Theocr. 22. 25, Call. *Hy.* 4. 28–33, Ael. Arist. 43. 6 [cf. Chapter 9 this volume, subsection *Or.* 40.1, pp. 170–2], Men. Rhetor 437–8. See Furley and Bremer (2001), i. 56.

Part V

Renaissance and Modern Literature

15

Homeric and/or *Hymns*

Some Fifteenth-century Approaches

Oliver Thomas

In the half-century 1880–1930, heroic labour was expended on finding and collating the manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns*, in order to construct the stemma and evaluate variants.[1] Scholarship broadly succeeded in these goals, though Filippo Càssola and Nigel Wilson could still finesse the stemma in the 1970s.[2] Recent scholarship on the *Hymns* has moved to different areas in search of advances in knowledge.

However, the processes of copying, buying, sharing, and annotating the manuscripts also provide a valuable window onto the reception of the *Hymns* during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, against a backdrop of fertile fields such as the functioning of humanist networks, Catholic Italy's receptivity towards pagan Greek theology (especially Orphica), and recent advances in Renaissance palaeography. This viewpoint also revives the manuscripts which textual criticism excludes from its *apparatus*: the family related to P (Vaticanus Pal.gr.179) demonstrates

[1] The most significant contributions are H. Hollander, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der homerischen Hymnen* (Osnabrück, 1886); T. W. Allen, 'The Text of the *Homeric Hymns*, I–II', *JHS* 15 (1895); P. S. Breuning, *De hymnorum homericorum memoria* (Utrecht, 1929). Where referring to manuscripts I use the sigla of F. Càssola, *Inni Omerici* (Milan, 1975), 593–6. Some details below rest on my visits to MN (Leiden), EJ (Modena: Càssola swaps the shelfmarks), *Π*ABC (Paris), H (London), *Γ* (Brussels), $R_1R_2R_3L_4$ (Florence), and V (Venice). I am grateful in each case to the librarians, and to Jeroen de Keyser, Paola Tomè, and Franco Bacchelli who answered queries on Filelfo, Tortelli, and Demetrios Kavakes respectively.

[2] N. G. Wilson, 'A Puzzle in Stemmatic Theory Solved', *RHT* 4 (1974); Càssola (1975), 596–616.

the collaborative Florentine interest in the *Hymns*;[3] even those copied from the *editio princeps* imply an enthusiasm for the text which merits investigation.[4] Yet, this is a window whose shutters scholars of the *Homeric Hymns* have never tried to unlock.

The extant manuscripts taken on their own are only part of this chapter in the *Hymns*' story. They can also guide us to writers who offer promising hunting-ground for literary allusions to the *Hymns*, and the story also includes writers who are not known to have owned any manuscript, such as Giovanni Tortelli who included at least ten references to the *Hymn to Apollo* in his *De Orthographia*.[5] The story includes lost witnesses, such as the translation Ficino made around 1462, the two manuscripts belonging to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola which probably perished in a fire in 1687, and Escorialensis *Γ III 7, probably a victim of fire in 1671. Roundabout sources include Demetrios Damilas finding a non-standard citation of *h.Ap.* 514–16 in the margin of his lost exemplar of Athenaeus 1 22c in winter 1502–3.[6] The story could continue well into the sixteenth century where we find, for example, Jean Dorat asking to borrow Henri de Mesmes's manuscript (which I can identify as A, Parisinus gr. 2763) so that he could tackle the corruptions in the *Hymn to Apollo*.[7]

[3] For the *Hymns* in Florence in the fifteenth century, see Chapter 16.

[4] See Càssola (1975), 603–6, for P, and p. 613 for later manuscripts, adding Ambrosianus H 55inf. (Nicasius Ellebodius, mid-sixteenth century).

[5] G. Tortelli, *Ioannis Tortelii Aretini Orthographia, Ioannis Tortelii Lima quaedam per Georgium Vallam tractatum de orthographia* (Venice, 1501), ff. 27v (Aesageus [*sic*]), 28r (Aegina), 33v (Amphirytes, misunderstood from *h.Ap.* 251), 43v (Athos), 44r (Autocanes), 55v (Cichesus, misunderstood from *h.Ap.* 240), 59v (Claros), 62v (Corycus, wrongly locating it by Delphi), 110r (Mimas), 156v (Styx). Tortelli completed his compilation in Bologna and Rome by 1455, and seems likely to have used *b*, *p*, or P for his text of *h.Ap*. Simelidis (Chapter 13, subsection on Leidensis BPG 33 H, p. 252–60) notes that Tortelli was taught by John Eugenikos, the scribe of M.

[6] For Ficino, see n. 19 below. Pico's copies: P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York, 1936), nos. 150 (further detail in A. Diller, H. D. Saffrey, and L. G. Westerink, *Bibliotheca graeca manuscripta cardinalis Dominici Grimani (1461–1523)* (Mariano del Friuli, 2003), no. 110; the contents resemble Harv) and 205. His avid study of *Orph. H.*: G. Pico, *Opera omnia Ioannis Pici Mirandulae Concordiaeque comitis* (Basel, 1557), 106–7. Escorialensis: G. Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1968), no. 179; the number of Proclan hymns and presence of Moschus place it in the *p* family. Damilas' Athenaeus: P. Canart, 'Démétrius Damilas, *alias* le "librarius Florentinus"', *RSBN* 14–16 (1977–9), 287–91.

[7] For Dorat's request, see P. de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1921), 76–7, or Parisinus lat. 8139 ff. 103v–4r (digitized at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k331206.r=lat.%208139%20nolhac>, accessed 24 May 2016). Identification of

I shall try in the space available here to survey some ways in which these manuscripts repay continued study, particularly for understanding the reception of the *Hymns*, and also to marry this with some non-manuscript evidence, namely the works of Michael Marullus and Francesco Filelfo.

REREADING THE MANUSCRIPTS

The labour-intensive production of manuscripts is not taken on lightly, and their physical characteristics often allow them to be located reasonably precisely in space and time. Each nexus of place, date, and purposefulness offers an orientation-point in the fifteenth-century history of the *Hymns*.

The clearest case of such a nexus is T (Matritensis 4562), signed by Constantinos Lascaris in Milan in 1464 (f. 100v). On f. 10r he describes the volume's prime motivation—his excitement at finding in Milan a book ('*a*') including the *Orphic Argonautica*, which he promptly copied, shared, and gave public lectures on.[8] One person with whom Lascaris shared both *a* and T was his teenage pupil Giorgio Valla (b.1447), who made the first copy of T's text of the *Orphic Argonautica* (Mutinensis Est. gr.114), and copied the 'hymn-corpus'—that is the Orphic, Proclan, Homeric, and Callimachean hymns—direct from *a* to produce E (Mutinensis Est. gr.164). It is worth insisting on E's date as 1464–5 rather than *c.*1491.[9] The

manuscript: D. F. Jackson, 'Greek Manuscripts of the De Mesmes Family', *Scriptorium* 63 (2009), 113 shows independently that A belonged to the De Mesmes family. Dorat's idiosyncratic reading of the *Hymns* is glimpsed in lecture-notes from *c.*1569: P. Ford, *Jean Dorat: Mythologicum: ou interprétation allégorique de l'Odyssée X–XII et de l'Hymne à Aphrodite* (Geneva, 2000), 88–100; G. H. Tucker, 'Jean Dorat et Giovanni Matteo (Giovam-matteo) Toscano, lecteurs des *Pythiques* de Pindare en 1566', in C. Buzon and J.-E. Girot (eds), *Jean Dorat, poète humaniste de la Renaissance* (Geneva, 2007), 234–5.

[8] Text: F. Vian, 'La Tradition manuscrite des *Argonautiques orphiques*', *RHT* 9 (1979), 43 n. 1. Cf. C. Lascaris, *Constantini Lascaris Institutiones uniuersae* (Ferrara, 1510), a iiii f. 2v for a later account of the same discovery. Vian (1979), 23–31 discusses the flurry of copies of *Orph. Arg.* deriving from the find (T = his siglum M).

[9] Contrast e.g. S. D. Olson, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and Related Texts* (Berlin, 2012), 42. Ianos Lascaris does not mention seeing E in Valla's collection in a letter of 1490–1, but K. K. Müller, 'Neue Mitteilungen über Janos Laskaris und die

principal watermark, a six-petal flower of diameter *c.*35mm whose centre contains a cross, has precise parallels in 1459–65, including in Lascaris' circle.[10] Moreover, Lascaris seems to have corrected Valla's signature on f. 84v, and they went their separate ways in 1465.[11] I shall return to Valla's marginalia shortly.

I have also managed to narrow down the origin of *Π* (Parisinus suppl.gr. 1095). The watermark on ff. 222–4 matches that of Monacensis gr. 71 and Neapolitanus II F 1, the latter signed by Ioannes Rhosos in Rome in May 1479. The main hand in *Π* also matches scribe A of the Monacensis, who collaborated on it with Demetrios Raoul Kavakes (known to have resided at Rome), and copied the *Odyssey* separately in Parisinus gr. 2769.[12] *Π* also introduces a further point—what a manuscript's composition implies about its copyist's mindset.[13] The scribe bound together two *Lives of Homer*, written in a different ink, with the *Iliad* on a separate set of gatherings, and finally the hymn-corpus with the *Batrachomyomachia*. The inherited order within the hymn-corpus was almost certainly Orphic, Proclan,

Mediceische Bibliothek', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1 (1884), 354, 382–5 already indicated that Lascaris' list is incomplete and so does not constitute a *terminus post quem*.

[10] J. Harlfinger and J. Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1974–80), 'fleur 21' (Milan 1459); U. Monneret de Villard, 'Le Filigrane delle carte milanesi dall più antica alla fine del XV secolo', *Archivio storico lombardo* 81 (1954), no. 247 (Milan 1462), Monacensis gr. 126 (Crete *c.*1465: WZIS, ref. DE5580-Codgraec126_68).

[11] Similar correction in Matritensis 4634: T. Martínez Manzano, *Constantino Láscaris: semblanza de un humanista bizantino* (Madrid, 1998), pl. 5.

[12] Watermark: Harlfinger and Harlfinger (1974–80), 'oiseau 6'; M. Molin Pradel, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Bd. 2: Codices graeci Monacenses 56–109* (Wiesbaden, 2013). Kavakes: F. Bacchelli, 'Di Demetrio Raoul Kavàkis e di alcuni suoi scritti (con due lettere inedite di Gemisto Pletone)', *Unomolti* 1 (2007). Hand: A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos* III (Paris, 1953), pl. 4, illustrates *Π*; cf. Molin Pradel (2013), pl. 10; B. Mondrain, 'Les signatures des cahiers dans les manuscrits grecs', in P. Hoffmann (ed.), *Recherches de codicologie compare* (Paris, 1998), 42 n. 1. P. Hoffmann, 'La collection de manuscrits grecs de Francesco Maturanzio, érudit pérugin (ca. 1443–1518)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes* 95 (1983), 138–9, attributed annotations on *Π* f. 277 to Francesco Maturanzio, and conjectured that he acquired it on Crete in 1473. Perhaps he bought it instead when he stayed at Rome *c.*1485 (G. Zappacosta, *Francesco Maturanzio: umanista perugino* (Bergamo, 1970), 21–2).

[13] A further example: in *Γ* (Bruxellensis 11377–80) the *Hymns* are bound after Theognis (written in a separate hand); a reader's practice of marking quotable ethical maxims in the margin carries through e.g. to *h.Herm.* 202–5 on the difficulty of judging passers-by.

Homeric, Callimachean: in *Π* the *Homeric Hymns* have been fronted, presumably because the scribe conceived of the volume as fundamentally Homeric, perhaps specifically (despite the physical differences) as a complement to the copy he made of the *Odyssey*.[14]

A more radical 'Homerization' of the *Hymns* can be seen in Cardinal Bessarion's finest copy of Homer, V (Marcianus gr. 456; *c.*1465–8?). He had Quintus of Smyrna—the author he had rediscovered—copied in 'rightful' position directly following the *Iliad*, without even a page-break; then Bessarion added a text of the *Odyssey* whose gatherings are numbered separately, and finally the *Hymns* and *Batrachomyomachia* on unnumbered gatherings. He thus compiled a volume where Quintus stands proudly amid the complete works of Homer.[15] V thus implies a stance on the cultural capital of the *Hymns* (bound up with their authenticity), namely that it is significant though subsidiary to that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; V also imposes an intertextual framework which could prompt a reader to privilege Homeric parallels over hymnographic ones.[16]

Let us return with this in mind to E, which Valla annotated in at least two stages. He copied his exemplar's marginalia immediately. Besides textual variants, these notably include on *h.Ap.* 172 the comment *ἐντεῦθεν ἐστιν εἰδέναι τὸν ὅμηρον χῖον εἶναι*, 'It is possible to infer from here that Homer was Chiot' (TE, similarly L*Π*). Perhaps this prompted Valla when he added an extra page to his volume (ff. 11/92), and copied out Suda entries on Homer's background and output (*o.*248–50 and parts of 251) and part of the Proclan *Life*,

[14] The inherited order can be inferred stemmatically, and e.g. by deterioration of the archetype at the end of Call. *H.*; it was preserved in *Π*'s sibling L before the latter was mutilated.

[15] See E. Mioni, *Codices graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum thesaurus antiquus, II Codices 300–625* (Rome, 1985) and E. Mioni, 'Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaborator', in *Miscellanea Marciana di studi Bessarionei* (Padua, 1976), 300. The main scribe is Cosmas the hieromonach; the hand from *h.Hom.* to the early part of *Batr.* seems different. Moschus' *Amor fugitivus* is tucked after the *Hymns*, but ignored by Bessarion on the contents page (f. 3v).

[16] In L_3 (Laurentianus 32.4, *c.*1485), Demetrios Damilas and the miniaturist Francesco Rosselli (and a collaborator: A. Di Domenico, 'I miniatori', in F. Arduini (ed.), *Il Libro d'Ore di Lorenzo de' Medici* (Modena, 2005)) produced a suitably magnificent copy of Homer for Lorenzo il Magnifico. Again the *Hymns* are separated from those of 'Orpheus', Proclus, and Callimachus, and placed after prolegomena to Homer (two *Lives* and Dio 53), the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Batrachomyomachia*. L_3 is digitized at <http://opac.bmlonline.it/Record.htm?record=698312441659>, accessed 24 May 2016.

beginning 'After he had been given to the Chiots as a hostage . . . '. Again after the initial act of copying, Valla added three good hexameter parallels to his margins. On Hephaestus' lameness at *h.Ap.* 317 he remarks 'aliter dicit in iliade sic' ('He says this in other terms in the *Iliad* as follows . . . ') with a citation of *Iliad* 1.591–4. On *h.Aphr.* 197 he recalls Virgil *Aen.* 3.98 *et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis*—a translation of the Greek line, though probably drawn from its occurrence at *Il.* 20.308. And on the Mother-goddess's castanets and drums at *Hy.* 14.3 he recalls *Priapea* 27.3–4 *cymbala cum crotalis prurientiaque arma Priapo | ponit et adducta tympana pulsa manu* (cited as 'uirg[ilius]'). Valla combines this reading strategy with excerpting proper names, often imperfectly. Though *Κυλλήνιος* is not in fact one of them, the utility of such excerpting comes out in his ability to cite the *Hymn to Hermes* in his *De Orthographia*:

> cyllene in arcadia mons unde cyllenius mercurius Homero teste ubi laudes scribit Mercurii.
>
> Cyllene is a mountain in Arcadia, whence Mercury is 'Cyllenian' according to Homer where he writes the praises of Mercury.[17]

Both the inherited note on *h.Ap.* 172 and Valla's own comment on *h. Ap.* 317 presuppose that the *Hymns* are by Homer. This assumption underlies a series of philological notes preserved in *Π* and its sibling L (Laurentianus 32.45):

> On *h.Ap.* 147: *ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ν′ ἰλιάδος. ἰάονες ἑλκεσιχίτωνες*. 'The same man (says) in *Iliad* 13 *ἰάονες ἑλκεσιχίτωνες* [*sic*: cf. 13.685]'.
>
> On *h.Ap.* 320 *κόμισσεν*: *ἐβαστασεν, εἰ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ η ἐπιμελείας ἠξίωσεν. ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ σ′ ἰλιάδος. ἥ μ' ἐσάωσ' ὅτε μ' ἄλγος ἀφίκατ'*[?]. '*κόμισσεν*: "she picked up"; but if it is written with an eta, "she thought fit to look after". The same man also (says) in *Iliad* 18 <citation from v.395>.'
>
> On *h.Aphr.* 244: *τὸ ὁμοίιον ὅμηρος πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ κακοῦ τιθέναι εἴωθεν*. 'Homer's constant practice is to use *ὁμοίιος* of something unpleasant.'[18]

[17] Cf. *h.Herm.* 304 etc. Valla's work was composed *c.*1475 (G. Barbero, 'Manoscritti 163, 168 e 169', in V. Grohovaz (ed.), *Il libro fra autore e lettore* (Brescia, 2008)); for a paginated edition, see Tortelli (1501) at f. 171r.

[18] While the last note has close parallels in ancient commentaries on Homer (Eust. *Comm. Il.* i.754, Σ_D *Il.* 4.315), the second is eccentric, since the scholia relate *κόμισσεν* both to *βαστάζω* and to *ἐπιμελείας ἀξιόω* without distinction of spelling; *κόμησ(σ)εν* does not occur.

So much for 'Homerizing' the *Hymns*. An alternative approach positions them firmly as 'god-poetry'. When Ficino recalls translating them, they keep company with the *Orphic Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus' *Hymns*, and Hesiod's *Theogony*.[19] Erasmus, somewhat later, repeatedly contrasts the *Homeric* and *Orphic Hymns* as a pair against Christian hymns.[20] More remarkably, he cites the *Hymn to Ares* 1–2 as typical of Greek hymns, precisely in the long concatenation of compound epithets which makes it stylistically the most Orphic and least Homeric of the *Homeric Hymns*.[21] Erasmus was taught in Paris *c.*1501 by Georgios Hermonymos, who had kept his copy of Plethon's selection of *Orphic Hymns* in Paris until 1497.[22] Perhaps, then, it was Hermonymos who led Erasmus to promote the Orphic and hymnic in the *Homeric Hymns*.

In any case, this general approach exists in a nuanced form in two of the annotators of K (Laurentianus 31.32). Two Virgilian parallels show one reader (perhaps Gian Pietro d'Avenza)[23] keeping the whole

[19] M. Ficino, *Marsilii Ficini . . . opera & quae hactenus extitere & quae in lucem nunc primum prodiere omnia* (Basel, 1576), 933. His translation of *Orph. H.* 4, presented to Cosimo de' Medici in September 1462, is all that survives: Laurentianus 54.10 f. 81; cf. I. Klutstein, *Marsilio Ficino et la théologie ancienne* (Florence, 1987). The reading in verse 5 shows that Ficino's exemplar was *p* or a descendant.

[20] e.g. the start of *In Psalm. 1* (1515: *CWE* lxiii.8) and the epigram on Bernard André's hymns (1517: *CWE* lxxxv no. 67).

[21] Letter to Johann von Botzheim, 30 January 1523: P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, and H. W. Garrod, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami* (Oxford, 1906), 7, *CWE* ix.300–1. In the *z* family of manuscripts, the *Hymn to Ares* stands first (followed by *Hy.* 9–18 and part of *h.Ap.*), perhaps as a result of salvaging some pages from a disintegrating exemplar rather than design. I see no evidence that Erasmus had knowledge of this arrangement.

[22] Erasmus' studies: E. Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto, 1985), 8–16. Hermonymos' copy, Vindob. supp. gr. 83: H. Hunger and C. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: IV, Supplementum graecum* (Vienna, 1994), 141–2. Plethon's 'recension' was identified by R. Keydell, 'Review of: Guilelmus Quandt, *Orphei hymni*', *GGA* 204 (1942), 77–80; the autograph survives in Marcianus gr. 406 ff. 128–33, with watermarks from 1390 to 1410 (Mioni (1985)).

[23] I think these Latin citations match the script of 'uersus orphei' at the top of f. 11r; the Greek part of that comment is—like many proper names excerpted in $K^{marg.}$—by 'scribe G'. Scribe G wrote or annotated numerous books which passed to Florence from Lucca in 1478 (D. Speranzi, 'La biblioteca dei Medici: appunti sulla storia della formazione del fondo greco della libreria medicea privata', in G. Arbizzoni (ed.), *Principi e signori: le biblioteche nella seconda metà del Quattrocento* (Urbino, 2010)). S. Gentile, 'I codici greci della biblioteca medicea privata', in G. Cavallo (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria scritta* (Rome, 1994), 117, identified him with d'Avenza, who taught at Lucca.

hexameter tradition in mind. On *Hy.* 12.3 *Ζηνὸς . . . κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε* he compares *Aen.* 1.47 *et soror et coniunx* (following *Iouisque*); *h.Ap.* 39 *Κορύκου* [*sic*] *ἄκρα κάρηνα* elicits *G.* 4.127 *Corycium uidisse senem* (less successful: a different Corycus). The same hand, probably, compares *Theogony* 457 *θεῶν πατέρ᾽ ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν* to *hominum pater atque deorum*, a misrecollection of *Aen.* 1.254 (f. 20r).

However, a different reader filled the margin next to *Hy.* 18.1–2 with Lactantius' sarcasm from *Inst.* 1.10.7:

> fur ac nebulo Mercurius quid ad famam sui reliquit, nisi memoriam fraudum suarum? celo silicet dignus quia palestram docuit et liram primus invenit.
>
> What did that thief and shyster Mercury leave for his reputation, but the record of his deceptions? Worthy of heaven, naturally, because he taught wrestling and invented the lyre!

This resistant reader also cited Lactantius' assertion that Hesiod was not inspired by the Muses, on *Theogony* 6–8, and in the bottom margin of that page added Hesiod's error in starting with Chaos (f. 11r: *Inst.* 1.5.10 *sed refugit . . . et paratus* and 1.5.8 *potuit Hesiodus . . . confusa congeries*). In the upper margin of the same page, the other hand has also cited Lactantius 1.5 (section 5 this time), but in order to quote Orphic fragments (frr. 125, 152 Bernabé) rather than to criticize the main text.[24] These two annotators thus apply contrasting intertextual frameworks. The one uses Lactantius *Inst.* 1 to criticize Greek theology, applied both to Hesiod's *Theogony* and to the *Hymns* which follow. The other cites hexameter parallels: the first, applied to Hesiod, is also from Lactantius but supplies an Orphic contrast (indeed, here the two annotators 'compete' over how to use Lactantius productively); in the *Homeric Hymns* the two parallels are Virgilian.

I have tried to advertise the prospects of revitalizing study of the manuscripts of the *Hymns* with their Renaissance reception as the goal. Many of them can now be located and dated using databases of watermarks and of scribal hands, and by piecing together the traditions of related texts. The way each manuscript was composed has implications for how its contents are approached; in the case of V and

[24] K's younger sibling H has a citation from Lact. *Inst.* 1.5.4 at the start of *Orph. Arg.* (*Orpheus . . . nauigasse*, f. 15r). Michael Reeve kindly advised me that the handwriting is likely to be later and German.

L_3, it also reflects on the *Hymns*' value and authenticity. The marginalia, though generally short, are numerous and have never been systematically published.[25] They presuppose a variety of reading strategies: extracting notable vocabulary, seeking useful maxims,[26] indexing information about proper names (incorrectly, on several occasions), textual criticism, taking the texts as pieces of Homer to be elucidated from Homer, or as parts of hexameter tradition to which one might supply parallels from the Virgilian corpus, or as Greek theological texts to which one might compare other hymn-collections or apply the criticisms of Lactantius.

As I mentioned, the manuscripts are only one type of evidence. I now turn to a clear case of an engaged reader whose use of the *Homeric Hymns* extends the strategy of emphasizing 'Hymns' over 'Homeric', in order to synthesize various Greek hymn-traditions into new poetry.

MARULLUS: HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN

Michael Marullus' *Hymni naturales* are the most serious attempt in the Renaissance to recreate pagan hymnography, drawing on not only the *Homeric Hymns* but also Callimachus, Cleanthes, Orphica, Proclus, Julian, and many other sources.[27] They were published in Florence in November 1497, but their genesis can be traced back to 1491 and perhaps further.[28] This makes it certain that Marullus knew the *Orphic Hymns* from manuscripts and therefore plausible, though

[25] Even Allen's capacious *apparatus* omits one of the most interesting, on *h.Ap.* 33: *πήλιον ὄρος θετταλικὸν τὸ νῦν καλούμενον κίσσαβος ἐν λαρίσσῃ, πρὸς τὸ λυκοστόμιον. φασὶ δὲ αὐτό* [*sic*] *διατρίβειν τὸν χείρωνα καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀχιλλέως*, 'Pelion is a Thessalian mountain now called Kissavos, in Larissa, towards Lykostomion. They say that Chiron spent time there and took care of Achilles.' The words 'now called' are tantalizing. The comment survives only in E, but probably derives from *x* like the other 'now-called' note, which Allen does cite on *h.Ap.* 40.

[26] Cf. n. 13; similarly *Π* comments on *h.Herm.* 36 ('Better to be at home, since the outdoors is harmful') *ση. περὶ ἀποδημήσεως*, 'NB re being abroad'.

[27] See e.g. P. L. Ciceri, 'Michele Marullo e i suoi *Hymni naturales*', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 64 (1914), 316–18; C. Fantazzi, *Michael Marullus: Poems* (Cambridge, MA, 2012), xii–xix. The hymns in Plethon *Laws* 35, and those of Marullus' Neapolitan friends Pontano and Bonincontri, are only a partial precedent.

[28] A. Perosa, 'Studi sulla formazione delle raccolte di poesie del Marullo', in P. Viti (ed.), *Alessandro Perosa: Studi di filologia umanistica* (Rome, 2000), 213–18.

uncertain, that he knew the *Homeric Hymns* that way. In fact, *Hy. Nat.* 3.1.278–80 praises two Medici for collecting and salvaging Greek manuscripts containing inspired literature about the gods.[29]

I shall start with one of Marullus' *Epigrams*, apparently written during 1489–93 (Perosa (2000), 210–13). Poliziano had argued that at Persius *pr.*14 *Pegaseium nectar* should be preferred to the variant *Pegaseium melos*, because the metre requires a closed penultimate syllable, and a single 'l' does not close the first syllable of Greek μέλος.[30] Marullus took a clever potshot at this in *Epigram* 3.45, arguing:

> sed neque divinus male μέλος ἄεισεν Homerus, . . .
>
> But neither did divine Homer 'sing *melos*' badly . . .

μέλος (trochaic) ἄεισε(ν) occurs only in *h.Herm.* 502, in the Ψ family and *editio princeps*. Unfortunately for Marullus, the reading was subsequently refuted by the long-lost manuscript M.[31] However, his ability to cite a parallel neglected by Poliziano demonstrates his

C. Kidwell, *Marullus: Soldier Poet of the Renaissance* (London, 1989), 156, argued that Sannazaro *Eleg.* 2.2.25–8, where Marullus' Muse 'loads the gods with praises', dates to July 1489, but others dispute whether the poem constructs any coherent timeframe (R. Nash, *The Major Latin Poems of Jacopo Sannazaro* (Detroit, MI, 1996), 127; Perosa (2000), 214 n. 29). Incidentally, Sannazaro *Eleg.* 3.2.89 describes Homer as *deum simul atque hominum celebrator*, 'eulogist of both gods and men'.

[29] When Marullus first wrote *Hy. Nat.* 3.1, the Medici intended were Lorenzo il Magnifico and his son Piero (M. McGann, 'The Medicean Dedications of Books 1–3 of the *Hymni naturales* of Michael Marullus', *RPL* 3 (1980)). Lorenzo died before the 1497 publication, when various interpretations were available (see D. Coppini, *Michele Marullo Tarcaniota: Inni naturali* (Florence, 1995) *ad loc.*), e.g. Marullus' patron Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco and his young son. Marullus could (for example) have obtained L_4 from his patron's tutor Giorgio Amerigo di Vespucci, or borrowed one of his friend Pico's copies (above, n. 6). Already in 1545, Giraldi suggested that it was Pico who prompted Marullus to write hymns (K. Wotke, *Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus: De poetis nostrorum temporum* (Berlin, 1897), 17).

[30] A. Poliziano, *Angeli Politiani Centuria miscellaneorum* (Florence, 1489), sect. 44. For his knowledge and reception of the *Hymns*, see Chapter 16.

[31] The *x* family flags the oddity by writing μέλλος; this suggests that Marullus was not using *Π*, despite having been in Rome during the 1480s. M seems to have stayed around Constantinople until the monk Dionysius took it to Moscow in 1690; see T. Gelzer, 'Zum *Codex Mosquensis* und zur Sammlung der *Homerischen Hymnen*', *Hyperboreus* 1 (1994), 113–25. This incidentally refutes the suggestions in Coppini (1995) that Marullus *Hy. Nat.* 1.6 owes a debt to *h.Dem.* For M, see Chapter 13 (Leidensis BPG 33 H, pp. 252–60) and Chapter 18 (On Previous Scholars and the Role of the Commentator, pp. 349–52) in this volume.

detailed knowledge of the *Hymns*, which is again displayed in the *Hymni naturales*.

The long opening sentence of *Hy. Nat.* 2.1 presents Calliope with a range of topics, ending with Pan. I present lines 22–34 alongside two passages of the *Homeric Hymn to Pan*:

seu potius [*sc.* dicere velis] iugis
gaudentem intonsi Lycaei
Pana, vagi pecoris magistrum,
qui per nivosi devia verticis,
qua nulla presso stat pede semita,
rupesque inaccessas capellis
virgineas agitat choreas,
novisque semper concitus ignibus
blandum novena cantat arundine,
auditus a primis Eoi
sedibus Hesperio colono,
quod nec virenti tecta sub arbore
aequet volucris garrula . . .

. . . or if [you would] rather [tell of] Pan, who delights in the ridges of uncut Lykaion, the master of the wandering flock, who chases the maiden choruses across the pathless tracts of the snowy peak where no foot-trodden track is found, and across the cliffs which goats cannot reach, and who, constantly stirred by new ardour, sings sweetly on the ninefold reed, audible to the Western farmer from the first settlements of the Orient—a song such as the chattering bird shaded by a verdant tree could not equal . . .

αἰγιπόδην, δικέρωτα, φιλόκροτον, ὅς τ᾽ ἀνὰ πίσεα
δενδρήεντ᾽ ἄμυδις φοιτᾷ χοροήθεσι νύμφαις
αἵ τε κατ᾽ αἰγίλιπος πέτρης στείβουσι κάρηνα
Πᾶν᾽ ἀνακεκλόμεναι νόμιον θεόν, ἀγλαέθειρον,
αὐχμήενθ᾽ ὅς πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχε
καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων καὶ πετρήεντα κέλευθα.
. . . δονάκων ὕπο μοῦσαν ἀθύρων
νήδυμον· οὐκ ἂν τόν γε παραδράμοι ἐν μελέεσσιν
ὄρνις ἥ τ᾽ ἔαρος πολυανθέος ἐν πετάλοισιν
θρῆνον ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν.

goat-footed, two-horned, noise-loving, who ranges over the wooded meadows together with nymphs who haunt the dance, who tread along the crown of the goat-left crag, invoking Pan, the pastoral god, resplendent in his mane and squalid, who has as his lot every snowy ridge, the peaks of mountains, and tracks through crags.

> . . . amusing himself with sweet music to the accompaniment of reed-pipes: *he* would not be surpassed in melodies by the bird who among the leaves during the blossoming spring pours forth her lament and pours out her honey-voiced song.

Marullus (33–4) translates closely the bird in the spring leaves who cannot surpass Pan's music (*Hymn to Pan* 16–17); *garrula* quietly captures the assonance of *ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει* (*Hymn to Pan* 18). In 30, *blandum* translates *Hymn to Pan* 16 *νήδυμον*; *virgineas choreas* (28) reworks *χοροῇθεσι νύμφαις* (*Hymn to Pan* 3); *rupes inaccessas capellis* (27) glosses *αἰγίλιπος πέτρης* (*Hymn to Pan* 4). Lines 25–6 combine *Hymn to Pan*'s 'tread along the crown' and 'snowy ridge' (4, 6).[32] The initial description of Pan in 22–4 expands more freely on 'the pastoral god' and 'has as his lot . . . the peaks of mountains' (*Hymn to Pan* 5–7).[33]

Marullus' specification that the pan-pipes have *nine* reeds (30) may nod to the number of Muses (who were summoned in lines 1–7), and hence gloss the semi-impersonal use of *μοῦσα* in *Hymn to Pan* 15. But the nine reeds also suggest the cosmic music of the nine celestial spheres.[34] Marullus' *Hymn* in fact moves from the Classical conception of Pan as hybrid and embodied towards the abstract cosmic interpretation of *Πάν* as *πᾶν* ('all'), for which Marullus employs *Orph. H.* 11. The nine reeds recall *Orph. H.* 11.6 where Pan performs cosmic harmony. Marullus' omission of Pan's half-goat body (*Hymn to Pan* 2, 5–6) facilitates the transition between conceptions, as does his addition of the global reach of Pan's music in lines 31–2. Later, Marullus describes Pan as supporting, nourishing, and (dis)ordering the four elements as he spreads through the world's limbs (62 *fulcisque alisque*, 63–4 *per artus fusus habes agitasque molem*), and as father of all and rightfully called Jupiter (76 *pater omnium*, 78 *rite Diespiter*). Each of these features recalls the *Orphic Hymn*, where Pan gives the ground support (13 *σοὶ . . . πέδον ἐστήρικται*), nourishes (11 *αὐξητά*, 20 *βόσκων*), orders the elements (13–17) which are his limbs (2–3), is *γενέτωρ πάντων* (10), and is *ἀληθὴς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης* (12).

A broader synthesis underlies *Hy. Nat.* 1.2.39–49, where Homer and Orpheus follow Tiresias in the train of Athena:

[32] Marullus perhaps read *κάρηνα* (D At *Π*, *ed. pr.*) rather than *κέλευθα*.

[33] In particular, Marullus seems to have drawn on Virgil *Ecl.* 5.63 when applying 'intonsus' (which is apt for Pan himself) to his wooded mountain.

[34] See J. Chomarat, *Michel Marulle: Hymnes Naturels* (Geneva, 1995) *ad loc.*

has pater Homerus inter atque Orpheus pater,
uterque plectro adamantino,
partum Chariclus subsecuti nobilem,
laudes heriles concinunt,
ut sola patris vertice ex ipso edita,
hominumque origo et coelitum,
prima et nefandos aggeres disieceris
audax paternis ignibus,
ipsumque fratrum maxime Enceladum trucem,
non ante equestris cognita,
stagnis profundi Tartari demiseris . . .

In their midst, father Homer and father Orpheus, both with adamantine plectrum, follow the noble child of Chariclo, and sing in unison the praises of their mistress—how you alone, the source of men and gods, were born from your father's very head, and were first to boldly cast down the sinful fortifications with your father's fire, and sent even the fiercest of the brothers, Enceladus, to the swamps of deepest Tartarus—though not previously known for riding.

Homer and Orpheus, both 'fathers', hymn Athena in unison (42 *concinunt*) with adamantine plectra, in a symbol of their combined and imperishable influence on Marullus as a hymnist. Moreover, by referring to Tiresias as 'child of Chariclo', Marullus alludes to Callimachus' *Bath of Pallas*, where Tiresias and Chariclo have prominent roles within a hymn to Athena.[35]

The passage carries through on this symbol of synthesis by alluding not only to Callimachus but to the *Homeric Hymn to Athena* (28) and *Orphic Hymn to Athena* (32). Marullus has Homer and Orpheus hymning Athena's birth from Zeus's head, and her role in the Gigantomachy.[36] The *Homeric Hymn* does mention Athena's unique birth (28.4–5 *αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεύς | σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς*, 'Zeus the planner himself bore her from his reverend head'). Both Coppini and Chomarat compare the elements cowering at Athena's chariot at

[35] C. Harrauer, *Kosmos und Mythos: Die Weltgotthymnen und die mythologischen Hymnen des Michael Marullus* (Vienna, 1994), 132. Tiresias' presence points also to the importance of inspiration for a religious poet (as in Poliziano *Ambra* 289–90). Marullus uses Callimachus' *Hymns* for further programmatic symbolism at *Hy. Nat.* 3.1.1–11, which restores the language of Claud. *Rapt.* 1.4–11 (see Coppini (1995) *ad loc.*) to its roots in Call. *H.Ap.*, while describing Apollo as 'finding his ancient seat worthy after so much time' (3.1.6–7).

[36] Marullus' affection for the good-versus-evil values of the Gigantomachy: Coppini (1995), 178.

Hy. Nat. 1.2.31–2 (*subsidit aether ipse, contremit fretum,* | *emota respondent sola*) with *Hy.* 28.9–16, where Olympus and the sea shake at Athena's birth while the ground resounds, before the sea and sun halt until she has removed her armour. But although the *Homeric Hymn* presents a military Athena, it neglects Enceladus and the Gigantomachy. Conversely, the *Orphic Hymn* omits Zeus's head, but does focus on the Gigantomachy. What it says about Athena's birth is that she was born both male and female (10), and Marullus duly describes her as *eadem virago, mas eadem* (1.2.65), immediately after priming us with the Orphic term 'Phanes'. Marullus describes Athena at the Gigantomachy as 'not previously known for riding' (48), which combines the *Orphic Hymn*'s epithet ἱππελάτειρα (12) and Callimachus' lengthier description of how her bath followed her riding against the Giants (*Pall.* 2–12).[37]

Marullus' deep combination and reworking of the *Hymns* is unusual. Often our task is rather to build a careful argument that an author shows knowledge of them at all. An interesting and disputed case is Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), of whom Calderini has said 'si potranno cancellare sulla lista dei libri noti al nostro umanista p.es. gli Inni Omerici' (1913, 418). I disagree.

FILELFO: SONGS OF PRAISE

After studies in Padua, Filelfo landed teaching jobs in Venice and Vicenza, and met two pioneering Greek teachers, Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino of Verona.[38] Inspired, Filelfo joined the Venetian consulate in Constantinople in 1420, where besides his official duties he learnt Greek with Ioannes Chrysoloras and later Georgios Chrysokokkes. Bessarion was a classmate, with whom Filelfo later reminisced about Chrysokokkes (*Epist.* 6.35 f. 41r). Filelfo also bought up manuscripts, which he sent on to Venice in August 1427 shortly before returning

[37] This is not to exclude the comparison made by e.g. Coppini (1995) of the local myth from Paus. 8.47.1, according to which Athena rode against Enceladus.

[38] His family: D. Robin, *Filelfo in Milan* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), 3. His studies: C. De' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino* (Milan, 1808), i.5–12. Meetings with Vittorino and Guarino: Filelfo *Epist.* 17.9 f. 125r (the 1502 edition is digitized at <http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/itali/autoren/philelphus_itali.html> with helpful numeration, accessed 24 May 2016).

himself. Among them he mentions texts of the '*Orphic Argonautica*, *Hymns* and Callimachus'; he also writes about having read Callimachus' *Hymns* in Constantinople.[39] Although Filelfo makes it a running theme of his published letters that his patrons in Venice sequestered most of his books, he did have a copy of Orphica with him in 1430.[40] Filelfo's interest in these texts, and his acquaintance with Chrysokokkes, who copied D (Ambrosianus B98sup.), give us some reason to imagine an interest in the *Homeric Hymns* too, though there is no direct evidence that he owned a copy. Nevertheless I believe that Filelfo did read the *Hymns* and that they influenced passages of his writing, especially his poetry.

Between about 1457 and 1465, Filelfo produced his *Peri Psychagogias*, forty-four Greek poems in elegiacs and Sapphics.[41] *Psych.* 1.2, whose cover-letter is dated June 1459 (Legrand (1892), no. 58), praises Cardinal Bessarion using Greek hymnic structures. After an initial invocation, he asks:

> σοὺς λέγειν τοίνυν γλυκεροῖς ἐπαίνους
> ἄσμασι σπεύδων, πόθεν αὐτὸς ὕλην
> ἀξίοις πρῶτον μέλεσιν τοσαύτην
> ἄρξομ' ἀείδειν; (5–8)

Well, as I am eager myself to tell your praises with sweet songs, from where shall I first begin to sing such a vast topic in the strains it deserves?[42]

[39] Partial list of books sent to Venice: P. Canneto and L. Mehus, *Ambrosii Traversarii . . . epistolae* (Florence, 1759), no. 24.32, a letter to Ambrogio Traversari of June 1428. Conceivably the book was Pfeiffer's ζ (R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* II (Oxford, 1953), lxx) which stands at the head of the extant manuscripts containing *Orph. Arg.*, *Orph. H.*, and Callimachus' *Hymns*. Reading Callimachus: *Epist.* 5.3 f. 31r.

[40] Running theme: A. Calderini, 'Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo', *SIFC* 20 (1913), 221–7; Filelfo arranged his *Epistolae* to start at his return to Italy, where the theme appears in the first few letters; its penultimate letter and a letter from 1476 quoted by Calderini continue the motif; *Sat.* 1.4 addresses the same topic (see F. Filelfo, *Francisci Philelfi satyrarum hecatostichon decem decades* (Venice, 1502); S. Fiaschi, *Francesco Filelfo: Satyrae I, Decadi I–V* (Rome, 2005)). Ophica in 1430: Filelfo refused to have them copied for Georgios Scholarios, but not because he had lost them: É. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe* (Paris, 1892), no. 5.

[41] G. Cortassa and E. V. Maltese, *Francesco Filelfo: De Psychagogia* (Alessandria, 1997); D. Robin, 'Unknown Greek Poems of Francesco Filelfo', *RenQ* 37 (1984). Quotations follow Filelfo's autograph, Laurentianus 58.15.

[42] Despite the punctuation, take αὐτός with λέγειν σπεύδων: Filelfo likes convoluted word-order in both his Latin and Greek odes. Cortassa and Maltese (1997), 21, ungenerously relate this to his struggle with Greek metres.

A descriptive section praises Bessarion, before Filelfo moves to an *envoi*:

> χαῖρε γοῦν τῆς σῆς ἕνεκεν γλυκείας
> ὦ πάτερ μοίρας, θεὸς ἥν σοι ηὔδα
> δεξιὸς λάμπων παρὰ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου·
> χαῖρε, καὶ ὕμνει (41–4)
>
> Be glad then, father, in return for your sweet lot in life, which God, shining forth from Olympus on the right-hand side, declared for you: be glad, and sing hymns . . .

Twenty-seven Homeric and all the Callimachean hymns use χαῖρε at a closural transition from description to prayer.[43] Filelfo's imitation of this and of hymn-structure in general (invocation, rhetorical question about topic, description, envoi) inclines me to see in ἄρξομ' ἀείδειν not a borrowing from Theocritus 22.25, but rather a conjugation of the hymnic formula ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν which appears eight times in the *Homeric Hymns*.[44]

Bessarion had the wherewithal to recognize these formulas. As mentioned, he studied alongside Filelfo with the scribe of D, and he later had the *Hymns* included in V; he may well have commissioned H (Harleianus 1752) too.[45] Using pagan hymns to praise a cardinal—even one orchestrating the revival of ancient Greek texts—required caution. Filelfo neatly deflects any offence in the final word of line 44. This encomium does not end hymnically by asking Bessarion for quasi-divine favours, but instructs him to offer hymns of his own in

[43] The feature does not occur in *Orph. H.* It is also imitated by Marullus: *salve* at *Hy. Nat.* 1.1.99, 1.2.63, 1.5.32, 1.6.58, 2.1.77, 2.5.51, 2.6.85, 2.8.69, 4.3.145, and 2.3.49 *gaudete* which shows his insight that both senses of the Greek verb are significant (cf. R. Wachter, 'Griechisch χαῖρε: Vorgeschichte eines Grußwortes', *MH* 55 (1998)). Marullus normally employs a longer *envoi* than the *Homeric Hymns* (or Callimachus), with a prayer for particular benefits; he does not imitate their closural formulas such as '. . . and I shall call to mind another song'.

[44] Elsewhere only *Σ* P. *P.* 3.14 citing *Hy.* 16, and on Douris' famous cup, Berlin F2285. Filelfo crosses this formula with a πόθεν question. The result resembles Mesomedes 6 πόθεν ἄρξομαι ὑμνεῖν σε, Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 44 πόθεν ἄρξομαι τῶν σῶν ἐγκωμίων. I know of no evidence that Filelfo read either of these works.

[45] For V, see n. 15 above. H was written by Demetrios Trivoles after 1464 (it is a great-grandchild of T in *Orph. Arg.*). It includes a selection from the Planudean *Anthology*, Plethon's recension of Orphic and Proclan hymns, and Mesomedes 1–3, not noted in E. Heitsch, 'Die Mesomedes-Überlieferung', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 3 (1959) but based on Marcianus gr. 318. Bessarion owned all three, and commissioned Trivoles in the late 1460s.

order to receive God's continued blessings, which occupy the last few stanzas.

The same cover-letter to Bessarion mentions an ode celebrating Pius II's enthronement in September 1458, *Psych.* 2.14. Its final section considers the praise Pius will gain by defeating the Turkish threat:

> πᾶσα σὴν γαίη ἀρετὴν ἀείσει·
> σὸν κλέος λαὸς μέλεσιν καὶ ὕμνοις
> πᾶς ἐν αἰῶσιν μυρίοις φιλάττων
> ἐγκιθαρίξει. (49–52)
>
> The whole earth will sing of your virtue; the whole population will perform your fame on the lyre with tuneful hymns, preserving it during countless generations.

A praise-poem discusses future praise-poems, and demonstrates this continuity of tradition by borrowing from past praise-poems. The verb which caps the stanza only occurs elsewhere in two *Homeric Hymns* (*h.Ap.* 201 ἐγκιθαρίζει, *h.Herm.* 17 ἐγκιθάριζεν), both of which themselves contain self-conscious inset hymns. Filelfo is unlikely to have reinvented the verb for himself, because the vocabulary of *Peri Psychagogias* occupies a cautious range from Attic prose supplemented with poetic borrowings.[46] As with ἄρξομ' ἀείδειν in 1.2.8, the adonian appears to be inspired by a line-end from the *Homeric Hymns*.

If one wants to choose one of the *Hymns* as 'the' source, it may be relevant that *h.Herm.* 17–18 is a memorable encapsulation of the poem's contents.[47] Moreover, one of Filelfo's favourite tropes when discussing his own celebratory verse in his *Peri Psychagogias* and *Odes* is Hermes' invention of the lyre and gift of it to Apollo. Twice Filelfo asks Ioannes Argyropoulos to write him a Greek poem (*Psych.* 1.14, 3.13). In 1.14 Argyropoulos is praised as follows (13–14, 17–20):

> Ὀρφέως αὐδὴν λιγυρὴν μεγίστου
> ὦ σὺ θηράσσας . . .
> ἣν λύραν Ἑρμῆς πρότερος γλυκεῖαν

[46] See e.g. Robin (1984), 174; Cortassa and Maltese (1997), 19–21. *Psych.* 3.2.76 ὀμβριμοθύμου (of Ares) probably derives from the *Θ*-family of the *Hymn to Ares* 2, or from *Orph. H.* pr. 10 or 65.1.

[47] A reader of *Γ* (for example) marked them for attention, and Hobbes quoted them in translation in *Leviathan* (N. Malcolm, *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan* (Oxford, 2012), ii.143).

εὗρε καὶ Φοίβῳ γέγονεν χαρίσσας,
τῇδε εἷς πᾶσιν φίλος ἐν βροτοῖσιν
οἶσθα σὺ χρῆσθαι.

O you who hunted out the clear voice of supreme Orpheus . . . you, friend, alone among all mortals know how to use the sweet lyre which Hermes first invented and with which he has favoured Phoebus.

Three passages from 3.13 are also pertinent:

λάμβανε δὴ κίθαριν, Ἑρμῆς ἣν πρῶτος ἁπάντων
ἡδυεπὴς εὗρεν· τήνδε σὺ Φοῖβε λάβες. (19–20)

Take up the lyre, which eloquent Hermes was first of all to invent. You, Phoebus, took it.

ἢ Δία οὐρανίων μεδέοντα βροτῶν τε θεῶν τε,
ἢ τὰ γένη ζώων ὕμνεε τοῖς μέλεσιν. (23–4)

Hymn in your songs either Zeus who rules over the heavens, mortals, and gods, or the generations of animals.

αἵρεσις οὖν ἐπὶ σοὶ πέλεται κατὰ θυμὸν ἀείδειν·
ἀλλά μοι ἔστ' ἔφεσις πάντα σ' ἀκοῦσ' ἑτάρε·
οὐ γὰρ Ἀτλαντιάδῃ οὐδ' Ὀρφέϊ, οὐδὲ μεγίστῳ
εἴκοις Δημοδόκῳ ἄσμασιν ἐν λιγυροῖς. (47–50)

Therefore the choice is yours to sing as your heart desires, but mine is the desire(?) to hear everything from you(?), friend. For you would not yield to the Atlas-born[48] or Orpheus, or even to great Demodocus in your clear-toned songs.

Here, 3.13.47 paraphrases *h.Herm.* 474 = 489 σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν (αὖτ' ἄγρετον in manuscripts) ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾷς ('Yours is the choice to learn whatever you desire'), which in context refers to Apollo's ability to learn lyre-playing. μεδέω and ὑμνέω in lines 23–4 point in combination to constructions such as Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει . . . Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα (*h.Herm.* 1–2). Lines 49–50 juxtapose Hermes with Orpheus and Demodocus, and 1.14.13–20 with Orpheus. Filelfo's lists of legendary lyre-players may well be structured around knowledge that the *Homeric Hymns* (including *h.Herm.*) occur alongside the *Orphic Argonautica* and *Hymns* in the majority of the tradition.[49]

[48] Hermes: Robin (1984), 200, takes it as Calypso.

[49] Filelfo wonders whether Argyropoulos is distracted by Florentine women, and assures him that the Muses can be desired too (43 ἔστιν ἐρᾶν τούτων): *h.Herm.* also repeatedly emphasizes the desirability of lyre music.

Filelfo's earlier *Odes* (completed by summer 1456) contain three further references to the lyre's transfer.[50] *Ode* 1.1 promises deferred praise to Charles VII of France; the programmatic central section sketches a history of lyric performance.[51] At the end of this (181–4), Filelfo asks the eponymous god of *Odes* 1:

> Phoebe, quam frater chelyn ille divum
> nuncius dono tibi cessit olim,
> tange, concentus referens Olympi
> voce sororum.
>
> Phoebus, strike the tortoiseshell lyre which the great messenger of the gods, your brother, once yielded to you as a gift, and repeat with your voice the harmonies of the sisters of Olympus.[52]

Similarly the praise of Carlo Gonzaga in *Odes* 2.1 includes his musical taste, and hence susceptibility to become a patron:

> hinc et aurata cithara canorus
> redditur Phoebus, referens Atlantis
> arte nepotem. (150–2)
>
> Hence too he becomes Phoebus singing well to the golden lyre, and revives with his skill the grandson of Atlas.[53]

This passage does not discuss the lyre's transfer (though the focus on Hermes' 'skill' matches *h.Herm.*). But like 1.1.183 it discusses how present-day lyric poetry 'brings back' (*referens*) the music of the Greek gods. By contrast, *Odes* 4.4.17–19 expresses Filelfo's position as a continuator of lyric tradition more straightforwardly: 'Nor would I despair that Phoebus Apollo will grant us as a gift the lyre which the winged one granted to him.'

The story of Hermes inventing and playing the lyre, and gifting it to Apollo, is not only told in the *Hymn to Hermes*. Other possible sources include Hyginus (*Astr.* 2.7) and, very briefly, Philostratus

[50] Filelfo *Epist.* 13.29 f. 95r (17 June 1456) announces to Beccadelli the completion of the five extant books and the intention—apparently never fulfilled—to write five more.

[51] Orpheus appears nearby, again: 1.1.123–40 reworks material from *Orph. Arg.* 406–39 (Orpheus' lyre contest with his host Chiron); the part about Hades perhaps alludes to Seneca *Herc.* 1061–89.

[52] D. Robin, *Francesco Filelfo: Odes* (Cambridge, MA, 2009) mistranslates and has to radically repunctuate.

[53] Robin (2009) takes *arte* as 'patronage'. For *Atlantis . . . nepotem* cf. Hor. *C.* 1.10.1 *nepos Atlantis*.

(*Im.* 1.10.1).[54] However, the *Hymn* is the most substantial source, and we have seen three specific parallels to that text: *ἐγκιθαρίξει*, *Δία οὐρανίων μεδέοντα . . . ὕμνεε*, and the focus on the sexualization of the lyre in *Psych.* 3.13 (n. 49). I may add here the final reference from the *Odes*, 5.3.5–6, which declares:

> dat fratri citharam Mercurius sacram.
> Parnasus et *Ζεὺς τέρπεται*.
>
> Mercury grants his brother the sacred lyre: Parnassus and Zeus rejoice.

Parnassus stands to benefit from Apollo's acquisition, whereas Zeus would still have enjoyed music if Hermes had kept the lyre. The reason for singling out his pleasure is perhaps clarified by *h.Herm.* 506, where the brothers' conciliatory gift-exchange pleases Zeus in particular. Given these considerations, when in 1460 Filelfo describes 'Egyptian' Mercury, whom '*Ioue Maiaque natum poetae cecinere*' ('poets have sung of as born from Zeus and Maia'), he may well have been recalling the opening epithet of *h.Herm.*, *Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν*.[55]

I have argued that in a series of writings from the period *c.*1448–60 Filelfo shows knowledge of the formulas of the *Homeric Hymns* (*ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν*, *χαῖρε*) and of at least the *Hymn to Hermes* specifically.[56] He seems to take the latter as an apt source for self-reflexive comments about praise-poetry; the frequent co-presence of Orpheus and Hermes

[54] Filelfo could not read pseudo-Apollodorus (Calderini (1913), 254–5). Despite Horace's pervasive influence in Filelfo's *Odes*, *C.* 1.10 cannot be the main source since it omits the exchange of the lyre. Numerous other Greek sources emphasize, against Filelfo, that Hermes' 'gift' was compensation for Apollo's cows, given under duress.

[55] Speech commending Teodoro Plato: F. Filelfo, *Orationes Philelphi cum aliis opusculis* (Venice, 1492), f. 27. Other sources, probably including Hor. *C.* 1.10, influence the rest of the description. Once again a reference to *Orph. Arg.* (verse 130) follows.

[56] Four less certain references: (i) At *Sat.* 3.2.4–7, 'Codrus' farts and 'Oinopotes' calls it a *rara avis*; they are at 'templo Cylleni' (17–18: i.e. a notorious brothel: Fiaschi (2005), 404): perhaps cf. Cyllenian Hermes' fart-*οἰωνός* at *h.Herm.* 295–6. (ii) *Sat.* 10.10.27–32 (dated 1448) mentions Hermes' gift of the lyre to Apollo, again in discussing his potential praise-poetry alongside a reference to *Orph. Arg.* This time, however, he implies that Hermes did not play the lyre before giving it away, against *h. Herm.* (iii) *Odes* 5.9.77–80 *quid de te loquar excellere pulchrius*, | *qui totus vigeas nomine fulgido* | *quem non una sed omnis decoret viros* | *virtus quae celebres facit*? was perhaps inspired by *h.Ap.* 19 *πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα*. (iv) *Psych.* 2.1.35–6 *ἐκ τίνος ἀρχόμενος ἀρχῆς σέο πρῶτον ἐπαίνων* | *μνήσομαι* may use not only Theoc. 2.65 *ἐκ τίνος ἄρξωμαι* and A.R. 1.1–2 *ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν* | *μνήσομαι*, but also, in the context of praise, *μνήσομαι* + genitive as the first word in *h.Ap.*

may relate to the co-presence of Orphica with the *Homeric Hymns* in manuscripts (particularly at *Psych.* 3.13.50 when reinforced with a second reference to Homer in the name 'Demodocus'). I therefore reject Calderini's comment cited above. Calderini scoured Filelfo for clear direct citations—a reasonable methodology for Filelfo's prose where he freely name-drops Classical authors whom he only knew second-hand. But the converse, that Filelfo did not know authors whom he does not name-drop, requires great caution. Many of Filelfo's poems display dense allusivity, where citing each source by name would remove the fun of recognition. The *Homeric Hymns* seem to appear in such situations. The further question of how Filelfo read the *Hymns*—at Constantinople, or later in a manuscript he owned or purchased or borrowed?—remains unsolved.[57]

CONCLUSION

In the composition and annotation of manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns* I noted evidence of different ways of reading the poems. As a heuristic move I distinguished two polar approaches between which others can be positioned: to take the poems as part of the tradition of pagan Greek theological poems, or as 'Homer to be elucidated from Homer'. Marullus is an extremist for the first approach, synthesizing the *Homeric Hymns* with other Greek hymnography to form his own *Hymni naturales*, and self-consciously including programmatic symbols such as Homer and Orpheus in concord with Tiresias in Athena's train. Filelfo too, though more superficially, uses the *Hymn to Hermes* as a means for discussing his position within traditions of praise-poetry specifically, often with references to Orpheus in the offing, and generally separate from his numerous references to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Ianos Lascaris strikes a subtler balance in his *Epigram to Homer* (A. Meschini, *Giano Laskaris: Epigrammi Greci* (Padua, 1976), no. 40),

[57] For example, he was in contact with Gianozzo Manetti, who owned P, and with Giovanni Aurispa, who treated his copy as a highlight of the collection he brought back from Constantinople in 1423 (R. Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Rome, 1931), 11).

published in his 1517 *editio princeps* of the *Iliad*'s D-scholia. The epigram begins with Homer brought to Olympus by Hermes:

> ὁππότε δὴ μακάρων ἐς ὁμήγυριν ἤγαγεν Ἑρμῆς
> Μαιονίδην . . .
>
> When Hermes led the Maeonian to the assembly of the blessed . . .

Lascaris probably knew three passages in which 'Homer' used ὁμήγυρις—*Il.* 20.142, *h.Ap.* 187, and *h.Herm.* 332.[58] Only the last has obvious relevance to both Homer and Hermes: as Homer in his hymn had Hermes brought to the Olympian assembly, Lascaris has Hermes repay the favour. Momus, however, criticizes the fact that a τυφλὸς ἀνήρ ('blind man', 4) has come to heaven. This collocation occurs only in *Hymn to Apollo* 172 (and its citations by Thucydides and Aristides), a famous passage where the primary narrator becomes Homer advertising the immortality of his songs.[59] Lascaris' hypotext therefore unravels Momus' criticism, and who but Apollo should then criticize Momus' own short-sightedness: Homer in fact saw everything in the world, and descended from heaven to reveal them to ordinary mortals. Lascaris' epigram heads a Homeric volume, and is about Homer, but it puts allusions to the *Hymns* to the service of hymning Homer's own apotheosis. Moreover, as Nicholas Richardson pointed out to me, this interchange of Momus and Apollo surely alludes to the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (105–13), where Apollo sends Phthonos packing for his misguided poetic criticism, and Callimachus hopes for the same treatment for Momus. Lascaris had edited Callimachus' *Hymns* twenty years before, and is attuned to the continuity with the *Homeric Hymns*.

However, the 'Homerizing' approach won out historically. In V, Bessarion initiated the process of placing the *Hymns* at the end of Homer's works, and the practice was adopted by Demetrios Chalcondyles for the *editio princeps* of Homer in 1488/9. This early decision remained the common editorial practice through to Allen's *OCT*, and thereby had a lasting influence on the *Hymns*' perceived status as a sub-canonical appendix to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

As indicated in the introduction, I have tried here only to give a preliminary sense of the wealth of material available on this topic. The

[58] *H.Dem.* 484 was probably unknown: see n. 31 above.

[59] As noted above, the line attracted a marginal comment in *x* (extant in TEL*Π*); Lascaris used L for his 1496 edition of Callimachus (Pfeiffer (1953), lxvi).

manuscript tradition is the basic source not only for textual criticism, but also for a reception history of the *Homeric Hymns* in the Renaissance. Where we know the location and ownership of a manuscript at a given date, we can consider both the owner and people known to be in contact with him (e.g. pupils), test whether their extant writings demonstrate knowledge of the *Hymns*, and thus begin to tease out networks of readers. My research suggests that there is a great deal here for future scholarship to explore.

16

The Rebirth of Venus

The Homeric Hymns to Aphrodite *and Poliziano's* Stanze

M. Elisabeth Schwab

> *Ille deum vultus, ille ardua semina laudum*
> *ostentat populis* [. . .]
>
> (Pol. *Ambra*, 21–2a)

The dissertation of Aby Warburg, published in 1893, is a fascinating investigation of the image of antiquity in the Italian Renaissance. Assessing the literary sources of Botticelli's famous masterpiece *The Birth of Venus*, Warburg proves that it is closely related to a passage in Angelo Poliziano's elegant poem, *Stanze per la giostra*. As he points out, both works of art—Botticelli's painting and Poliziano's poem—paraphrase the second *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (*h.Hom.* 6).[1] Poliziano's poem (1475–8) bears an even closer relationship to the *Homeric Hymn* than the painting that was created a few years later (*c.*1482), after the model of Poliziano's poem. To say it in Warburg's words: '[. . .] the poet was thus the giver, and the painter was the receiver [. . .]'.[2]

[1] 'Beide Kunstwerke sind eine Paraphrase des homerischen Hymnus', A. M. Warburg, 'Sandro Botticellis "Geburt der Venus" und "Frühling". Eine Untersuchung über die Vorstellung von der Antike in der Italienischen Renaissance', in D. Wuttke (ed.), *Aby M. Warburg, Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen*, 2nd edn (Baden-Baden, 1980), 19. Trans. of Warburg's dissertation by K. W. Forster and D. Britt, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (Los Angeles, CA, 1999), 89–156.

[2] '[. . .] so war demnach der Dichter [i.e. Poliziano] Geber und der Maler Empfänger' (Warburg (1980), 19).

Warburg does not, however, explore further the impact of *h.Hom.* 6 on Poliziano's *Stanze*. I would therefore like to focus on Poliziano's poem, regarding it not just as a source for Botticelli's masterpiece, but instead as an important testimony of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* as such. In what follows, I will give a brief survey of the *Homeric Hymns* in Florence at the time of Poliziano. Secondly, I will explore Poliziano's truly outstanding scholarship with an emphasis on his knowledge and opinion of Homer. In a third step I will assess the ways in which Poliziano integrates the *Homeric Hymns* into his *Stanze per la giostra*, focusing on *Stanze* I.38–55 and I.99–103. The *Homeric Hymns to Aphrodite* (*h.Hom.* 5 and 6) were not only a literary source for stanzas I.99–103, the passage Warburg mentions, but—together with other ancient texts—served as an important inspiration for the crucial turning point in the first half of Poliziano's poem. Moreover, a comparison of Homer's and Poliziano's texts shows that Poliziano's poem provides the first extant comprehensive adaptation of *h.Hom.* 6 into the Italian vernacular. This passage is even marked explicitly by the homograph 'omeri' ('by Homer') in *Stanze* I.102.5.[3]

HOMERIC HYMNS IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE

Poliziano wrote his *Stanze per la Giostra* between two cornerstones of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in the early Italian Renaissance: the first translation of the *Hymns* by Marsilio Ficino (presumably 1462) and the first printed edition of Homer's *Opera omnia* (1488).

We know of Ficino's translation through a letter that he wrote to Martino Uranio claiming that he had translated the *Orphic hymns* as well as the hymns by Homer and Proclus of Lycia (*Argonautica et hymnos Orphei et Homeri atque Proculi, Teologiamque Hesiodi*). When Ficino completed these translations, he was very young (*adolescens*). They were not meant for publication (*edere numquam placuit*), but simply as an exercise for Ficino,[4] who had just started to

[3] I would like to express my gratitude to the editors of the volume and the participants of the discussion for any help and advice, as well as to the Warburg Institute in London for offering me access to the library, which has been the most inspiring experience during my research for this chapter.

[4] Ficino: *Opera* vol. I, 933 (1962).

study the Greek language.[5] Therefore it was a literal translation and not very elegant in style (*ad verbum*). Still, this is not to exclude the possibility that Poliziano might have known of Ficino's early efforts.[6]

The first edition of the *Homeric Hymns* (*h.Hom.* 3 to 33) was published in Florence in 1488 together with the other works attributed to Homer and was dedicated to Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici.[7] Homer's *Opera* were presented in two volumes, the first containing the *Iliad*, the second the *Odyssey*, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and the *Hymns*. As a professor at the Studio, the university in Florence, the editor Demetrios Chalkokondyles was Poliziano's colleague for fourteen years (1480–94). The *editio princeps* was Chalkokondyles' most important work and gave broad access to Homer's poems in and outside of Italy. As is well known, it was only replaced by critical editions in the mid-sixteenth century, executed by the French scholars Adrianus Turnebus (1554) and Henricus Stephanus (1566). Considering that Poliziano's and Chalkokondyles' fields of research were very close, their personal relationship might not have been as good as it seems when we look at the flattering Greek epigrams that Poliziano dedicated to his colleague (e.g. no. XIX, *Εἰς τοὺς σπουδαίους*, 'to the students'):[8]

Φεύγετε Πιερίδων ἀδινοὶ θεράποντες ἄρουραν,
πᾶς Ἑλικωνιάδων ἦλθε πόλινδε χορός.
εἰ δέ τις αὖ κείνου θαλάμους καὶ δώματ' ἐρευνᾷ,
Χαλκεοκονδύλου στήθεα ναιετάει.

[5] The earliest Latin translations of the *Orphic Hymns* and hymns I–V by Proclus survive in *cod.* Laur. Med. XXXVI. They have been attributed with reservation to Ficino (R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary* (Leiden, 2001), 7–8; E. Vogt, *Procli hymni accedunt hymnorum fragmenta, epigrammata, scholia, fontium et locorum similium apparatus*, indices (Wiesbaden, 1957), 23).

[6] On Ficino, see A. Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze* (Florence, 1902), 537; P. Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529. Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts* (Philadelphia, PA, 2010), 82 (Botley dates Ficino's translation to the later 1450s).

[7] F. Càssola, *Inni Omerici* (Milan, 1975), 612–13. The edition was based on two codices that derived from the families *f* and *x*. It was paid for by the two brothers Bernardo and Nero Nerli and printed by the typographer Demetrio Damila. Even before the edition of the *Opera Homeri*, Demetrio had printed the Greek grammar by Costantinus Lascaris, thereby making him one of the first to use Greek characters in printing (G. Cammelli, *Demetrio Calcondila* (Florence, 1965), 89–91).

[8] Pol. *Epigr. Graec.* XVII, XIX, XX: F. Pontani, *Angeli Politiani Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum* (Rome, 2002), 87–8, 94, 96; on the relationship: Cammelli (1965), 83–7; for a more balanced view: L. Silvano, *Angelo Poliziano: Appunti per un corso sull'Odissea, Editio princeps dal Par. Gr. 3069* (Alessandria, 2010), xc–xci. The translation of epigram XIX is my own.

Flee from the fields, you many servants of the Muses,
the entire choir of the Helicon has come to town.
If someone asks where its bed and its home are:
it lives in the breast of Chalkokondyles.

POLIZIANO'S HOMER

Poliziano was not only a poet, but also a professor of poetry and rhetoric in Florence. Being one of the most brilliant scholars of his time, he mastered Latin, Greek, and the Italian vernacular. From the very beginning his main interest as a scholar was Homer. Thus, he began his academic career at the age of sixteen with a translation of books two to five of the *Iliad* into Latin hexameters. Highly impressed by these accomplishments, Lorenzo de' Medici made him tutor of his two sons. In 1480 Poliziano was appointed professor at the Studio, where he gave lectures on ancient literature. Some of them on the topic of Homer are still extant today, such as the *Oratio in expositione Homeri* or the *Ambra*, which constitutes one out of four parts of Poliziano's most ambitious work, the *Silve*.[9] Poliziano clearly knew about the *Hymns* and believed them to be part of Homer's oeuvre. However, we do not find his statements about them in his lectures dedicated to Homer, but instead somewhat accidentally in the commentaries on Latin ancient authors such as Statius and Ovid, where we read:

> Sunt hymni in deos, quales antiquus Orpheus, Homerus, Hesiodus, Asclepiades atque alii fecerunt.[10]
>
> There are Hymns to the gods, which were composed by the ancient Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, Asclepias, and others.

There are two more instances in the commentaries that prove that Poliziano was familiar with the *Hymns*, or at least with the *Hymn to Apollo* (*h.Hom.* 3). Firstly, in his comment on Statius' *Sylv.* I.2.2, where he uses '*ἀκερσεκόμης*' for his explanation: *HUMERO COMANTI. Nam χρυσοκόμης appellatur ab Orpheo et ab Homero etiam ἀκερσεκόμης*, [. . .].[11] This word also appears in v. 134 of *h.Ap.* Secondly, Poliziano makes use of *h.Ap.* in his comment on Ovid's *Fasti*, where he actually

[9] P. Megna, *Angelo Poliziano: Oratio in Expositione Homeri* (Rome, 2007), esp. xxv; T. Leuker, *Angelo Poliziano: Dichter, Redner, Stratege. Eine Analyse der Fabula di Orpheo und ausgewählter lateinischer Werke des Florentiner Humanisten* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997), 261–81.

[10] Pol. *Comm. Selve*, 58. [11] Pol. *Comm. Selve*, 196.

cites verse 40 of the *Hymn* in order to reject the interpretation of Iohannes Tortellius Claron:

> 'ut Homerus', inquit [*sc.* Tortellius], 'indicare videtur in Apollinis hymno'. Nihil autem est tale apud Homerum; nam ille enumerans urbes aliquot quae Apollinem colant, etiam hoc addit: *καὶ Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπύ*.[12]
>
> Tortellius says: 'As Homer seems to indicate in the Hymn to Apollo.' However, nothing of that kind can be found in Homer; when he lists some of the cities that honour Apollo, he even adds this: 'splendid Claros and steep Aisagea' (*h.Ap.* 40).

Despite the fact that Poliziano thought of the *Hymns* as part of Homer's oeuvre, he does not deal with them in his lectures on Homer.[13] We may assume a reason for this when we look at §14 of his *Oratio in expositione Homeri*:[14]

> Duplex est Homeri poesis, 'Ilias' atque 'Odissea'. Nam 'Batrachomyomachian', 'Margiten', 'Phocaida' 'minoremque Iliada', itemque 'Cecropas', '*Ἐπικιχλίδας*' aliaque huiuscemodi, lusus potius quam iusta opera, de industria omittemus. [. . .]
>
> Homer's poetry is twofold: *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. However, the *Batrachomyomachia*, *Margites, Phokais* and the *Minor Iliad*, and in the same way the *Cercopes*, the *Epikichlides* and others of that kind, are more of a literary work of a playful nature than serious works and we leave them out on purpose. [. . .]

In this passage Poliziano divides Homer's works into *iusta opera*—the two epics *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—and *lusus potius*:[15] the minor works 'and others of that kind' (*aliaque huiuscemodi*) that are literary works of light nature.[16] One could suggest that Poliziano thought of the *Hymns* as part

[12] Pol. *Comm. Fasti*, 30.

[13] Unless we think of the *h.Hom.* when we read the passage on Homer's childhood and his early love for playing the reed pipe (Pol. *Ambra*, 233–7).

[14] Megna (2007), 15–16; for a German translation, see E. Schönberger and O. Schönberger, *Angelus Politianus. Vorworte und Vorlesungen* (Würzburg, 2011), 76. The English translation is my own.

[15] *OLD lusus*, 4 gives an idea of how the word is used as an indication of a literary genre in antiquity: Ovid calls his poems (one of the reasons for his being exiled) *lusus* in *Tr.* 2.223 in comparison to the challenges that the *princeps* has to face. Pliny the Younger recommends Fuscus to read short poems for useful diversion (*Ep.* 7.9.10). In *Ep.* 9.25.1–2 he admits that he is enjoying himself and that he is even seeking fame by composing *lusus*.

[16] There is a very similar passage in the pseudo-Herodotean *Vita Homeri*, which was also part of the volume edited by Chalkokondyles, where Homer's minor works

of the *alia huiuscemodi* and thereby as part of the *lusus* ('playful work'), bearing in mind that there is very little evidence for this interpretation as Poliziano does not explicitly name the *Hymns* in the passage cited above.

Let us turn from Poliziano, the professor who lectures on Homer, to Poliziano, the poet. In contrast to his commentaries and lectures, the *Hymns* have obviously been a vivid inspiration for Poliziano's poetic writings. This is especially true for his Greek poems, as their latest editor, Pontani, points out:

> In reading these poems it jumps out at you that there is a massive presence of terms, expressions and syntactic units that come from the epic language, in the first place from the Homeric poems, and to a smaller extent, from Hesiod and the Hymns.[17]

Pontani detects numerous parallels to the *Homeric Hymns*.[18] The most convincing examples[19] can be found in Poliziano's Greek poems III, VIII, X, XI, which date back to 1472–3. They show that Poliziano was making use of the *Homeric Hymns* to Hermes (4)[20] and to Dionysus (7).[21]

are called *παιγνία* (24). However, the author might not have thought of the *Hymns* in this case, because he mentions them separately earlier in the *Vita* (9).

[17] Pontani (2002), xxxiv–xxxv: 'A leggere queste poesie [. . .] non può non balzare agli occhi la massiccia presenza di termini, espressioni e unità sintattiche derivanti dal linguaggio epico, *in primis* dai poemi omerici e, in misura minore, da Esiodo e dagli *Inni*' (the English translation is my own).

[18] Pontani (2002), 6, 13–14, 37, 51, 55, 62, 165. The first epigram with the combination *οὐδ'* [. . .], *οὔτε* in verse three leads to the *h.Ap.*, where the same construction occurs in verse 55. The combination, however, is not unique in ancient Greek poetry (see e.g. Pindar I. 6.24; O. 14.8–9).

[19] Pontani also finds some references to the *Hymn to Demeter* (2) in Poliziano's Greek epigrams V, XIX, XXVI (Pontani (2002), 19, 21, 95, 121). I do not think that Poliziano knew this hymn, as Chalkokondyles' edition contained only *h.Hom.* 3 to 33. See also N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 73 n. 3: 'As the manuscript of the *Hymn* [*sc.* to Demeter] was not apparently known to the world in general until the end of the eighteenth century, the *Hymn* exercised no influence over Renaissance literature.'

[20] Fairly analogous expressions to the *h.Herm.* can be found in epigrams VIII.12: *τήρησον δ' ἐπάλληλον ἐπὶ στήθεσφιν ἔρωτα* ('Save in your breast your mutual love'), cf. *h.Herm.* 434: *τὸν δ' ἔρος ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀμήχανος αἴνυτο θυμόν* ('and insurmountable longing seized his heart', cf. also *Il.* 14.315–16); epigr. XI.6: *τόσσον νῦν πάντες Μουσάων εὔφρανθεν ὀπαδοί* ('so many are now all happy to be followers of the Muses'), cf. *h.Herm.* 450: *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μούσῃσιν Ὀλυμπιάδεσσιν ὀπηδός* ('for I, too, am a follower of the Olympian Muses'. Note that *ὀπηδός* does not occur elsewhere in Homer's epics as A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 523, points out).

[21] Close allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* can be traced in epigrams III.3: *καί σ' ἐχρησμολόγει γλυκερῶν κοσμήτορ' ἀοιδῶν* ('and he prophesied you to be

In his Greek epigrams Poliziano probably used the *Hymns* because they helped him to cope with the ancient language and to obtain appropriate poetic expressions. This, of course, is not to discount Poliziano's ability to write Greek poetry of remarkable quality. In what follows, I hope to show that Poliziano has chosen to allude to the *Homeric Hymns* not only for their aesthetic qualities, but also with respect to their content, when he wrote his most ambitious Italian poem: the *Stanze per la Giostra*.

THE *HOMERIC HYMNS TO APHRODITE* IN THE *STANZE PER LA GIOSTRA*

The 'delirio intertestuale' of Poliziano's *Stanze*

In the *Stanze* there is scarcely a verse that does not imitate or quote an earlier text, either from classical or Italian literature.[22] This poetic technique, the *docta varietas*, has been interpreted in different ways. Traditionally, it is considered to be an expression of Poliziano's aestheticism: he had an 'exquisite feeling for form', as Francesco de Sanctis (1817–83) puts it in his *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, 'with complete indifference to content. [. . .] Form is everything with Poliziano.'[23] As Quint argues in his introduction to the first English translation of Poliziano's poem, this technique lends 'an aura of timelessness and autonomy from human history'.[24] As his most scrupulous commentator, Francesco Bausi, suggests, the elegance

an "adorner" of sweet songs'), cf. *Hymn to Dionysus* 58b–59: οὐδέ πῃ ἔστι|σεῖό γε ληθόμενον γλυκερὴν κοσμῆσαι ἀοιδήν ('nor is there any way to adorn my sweet song if I forget you [*sc.* Semele]'); epigr. X.14 κισσὸς τηλεθάων ἄνθεα πολλὰ [. . .] ('ivy, all flowering so much'), cf. *Hymn to Dionysus* 40–1: [. . .] ἀμφ' ἱστὸν δὲ μέλας εἱλίσσετο κισσὸς|ἄνθεσι τηλεθάων, [. . .] ('[. . .] and dark ivy was winding around the mast, blooming with flowers [. . .]').

[22] For the first fundamental commentary, see G. Carducci, *Le Stanze, L'Orfeo e le Rime di Messer Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano* (Florence, 1863); for a more recent approach that tries to consider the contemporary sources, see R. Bessi, *Umanesimo Volgare, Studi di letteratura fra Tre e Quattrocento* (Florence, 2004), 215–65.

[23] F. De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Vol. 1 (Bari, 1949), 365: 'Il Poliziano aveva uno squisito sentimento della forma nella piena indifferenza di ogni contenuto [. . .] Il sentimento della forma, giá cosí grande nel Petrarca e nel Boccaccio, in lui è tutto; [. . .].'

[24] D. Quint, *The Stanze of Angelo Poliziano* (Amherst, MA, 1979), xiv. All translations of Poliziano's *Stanze are* from Quint. Translations of the *Homeric Hymns* are by the editors.

and aesthetic perfection of the poem let shine the Ficinian serenity of divine order through Poliziano's poetry, while at the same time a certain self-satisfaction and the need for distinction of the young Poliziano among his colleagues (Pulci, Lorenzo, Landino) became evident.[25] In the following, however, I will show that the classical text used by Poliziano seems to be arbitrary with respect to content only at first glance. Recognizing the classical source and its context reveals further layers of meaning that provide a deeper understanding of Poliziano's poem and even some comical effects. In my investigation of the *Homeric Hymns* in Poliziano's *Stanze* it is, therefore, necessary to take into consideration matters of form as well as the content of the *Stanze* and the classical source.

Plot Summary of the *Stanze*

Due to the programmatic intention of the *Stanze* to illustrate the jousting victory of the younger brother of Lorenzo de' Medici, Giuliano, at the Florentine tournament of 1475, which essentially meant his official introduction as an adult into the political life of Florence, the main topic of the poem is the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Giuliano, whose name is Latinized to *Iulio* (*Iulius*) in the poem, becomes an adult through a very specific incident: the moment when, for the first time in his life, he feels attracted to a woman. After an introduction, invocations to love and to Lorenzo de' Medici (I.1–7), the plot goes as follows.

Iulio, a lover of the hunt and the cult of Diana, scorns women and those who love them: one of the latter complains to Cupid, who decides to take his revenge. He sets a phantom white doe in Iulio's path. Giving chase to the deer, Iulio comes to a clearing, where the doe disappears and Iulio finds himself face to face with the beautiful young woman Simonetta (I.8–37). Asked whether she is a goddess or a nymph, Simonetta tells Iulio that she lives in Florence and is married (I.38–55).[26] She departs, leaving the speechless and love-stricken Iulio to find his way home to his worried companions (I.55–67). Following Cupid, who flies back to the realm of his mother on Cyprus, the second half of the book consists of a description of the

[25] F. Bausi, *Angelo Poliziano: Poesie Volgari*, 2 vols (Rome, 1997), xiv–xvi.

[26] For a similar plot, see Antonio di Meglio (1384–1448): *Sopr'un bel verde colle* (C. Oliva, *Poesia italiana del quattrocento* (Milan, 1978), 9–11).

garden and palace of Venus, which ends with the description of the doors to the *regia casa* (I.68–120). This portal was sculpted by Vulcanus with numerous mythological scenes of love, among them the 'Birth of Venus' (I.97–119). In the end, Cupid finds his mother lying in bed with Mars. Amusingly for the audience, Vulcanus, her legitimate husband, forgot to depict this particular scene on the door to the palace (I.120–5).

In book II Cupid tells Venus about his *vendetta*. Venus is very pleased with her son's activities and sends his brothers with their arrows to wound all the young noblemen in Florence to motivate them to go to the tournament, where Iulio must prove himself in battle in order to gain Simonetta (II.1–21). Moreover, she sends out Pasitea, wife of Sleep, to deliver an encouraging dream to Iulio (II.22–37). Iulio wakes up and prays to Minerva, Glory, and Cupid for victory (II.38–46). At this point the poem ends abruptly, never reaching the action of the tournament itself. Poliziano probably left his *Stanze* unfinished because of the untimely deaths of both of his historical protagonists, Simonetta Vespucci and Giuliano de' Medici, who was a victim of the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478.[27]

Stanze I.38–55 and *Hymn* 5.68–112

From this short summary it is easy to see that the crucial turning point is the moment at which Iulio encounters Simonetta (*Stanze* I.37.7–8, [. . .] *sotto un vel candido li apparve | lieta una ninfa,* [. . .]; 'here, veiled in white, a lovely nymph appeared before him, and the doe vanished away'). Guided by the deceitful powers of Cupid, who is hiding behind the eyes of Simonetta, Iulio helplessly falls in love with her. Simonetta is about to leave when Iulio finally finds his voice and talks to her. Let us compare this entire scene—and *Stanze* 49 and 51 in particular—with the encounter of Anchises and Aphrodite in the first *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (5) vv. 68–112.[28] Parallels between this passage of the *Hymn* and the encounter between Iulio and Simonetta described by Poliziano are numerous, in terms of content as well as vocabulary and details of the narration. At the same time it becomes clear that the *Hymn* is not the only source involved.

[27] Quint (1979), x–xii.

[28] Bausi (1997), II.49, suggests comparing *Stanze* I.49 and 51 with the first *h.Aphr.* 75–142.

Let us start with the first part of the passage, *Hymn* 5.68–80:

> Ἴδην δ' ἵκανεν πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν,
> βῆ δ' ἰθὺς σταθμοῖο δι' οὔρεος· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν
> σαίνοντες πολιοί τε λύκοι χαροποί τε λέοντες (70)
> ἄρκτοι παρδάλιές τε θοαὶ προκάδων ἀκόρητοι
> ἦϊσαν· ἡ δ' ὁρόωσα μετὰ φρεσὶ τέρπετο θυμὸν
> καὶ τοῖς ἐν στήθεσσι βάλ' ἵμερον, οἱ δ' ἅμα πάντες
> σύνδυο κοιμήσαντο κατὰ σκιόεντας ἐναύλους.
> αὐτὴ δ' ἐς κλισίας εὐποιήτους ἀφίκανε· (75)
> τὸν δ' εὗρε σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένον οἷον ἀπ' ἄλλων
> Ἀγχίσην ἥρωα θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχοντα.
> οἱ δ' ἅμα βουσὶν ἕποντο νομοὺς κάτα ποιήεντας πάντες,
> ὁ δὲ σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένος οἷος ἀπ' ἄλλων
> πωλεῖτ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διαπρύσιον κιθαρίζων. (80)

> And she arrived at Ida, rich in fountains, the mother of wild beasts, and crossing the mountain she made straight for the steading. And following her, fawning, went grey wolves and lions with gleaming eyes, bears, and swift leopards, whose desire for deer is insatiable. And seeing them she was rejoicing in her heart and instilled desire into their breasts, and all of them went to lie down in pairs in their shady lairs. And she herself arrived at the well-constructed huts. And she found him left alone, far from the others, the hero Anchises, possessing beauty from the gods. All the others went following their cattle to the grassy pastures, whereas he, left in the steading alone, far from the others, went up and down, playing his shrill lyre.

As can be seen here, in some cases, the allusions to the *Hymn* are quite vague and may be due to the genre, as for example the fact that in both texts the man is described as handsome, which is a common feature of a love-poem: Anchises is ironically described as god-like, *Ἀγχίσην ἥρωα θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχοντα* ('the hero Anchises, possessing beauty from the gods', v. 77),[29] whereas Iulio causes longing sighs to (unconsciously) attracted girls, cf. *Stanze* 10.1: 'Ah, quante ninfe per lui sospirorno!' ('How many nymphs sighed for him!').

The same may be true for the bucolic tropes, such as the 'cattle' (*βουσὶν*, v. 78) that also appear in *Stanze* 18.1–7: 'Quanto giova [. . .] veder cozzar monton, vacche mughiare, [. . .]' ('How pleasing [. . .] to see rams locking horns, cattle lowing, [. . .]'), and the characterization

[29] On the emphasis upon the godlike beauty and stature of Anchises, see A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008), 9–10.

of Anchises and Iulio as musicians: Anchises plays the lyre (διαπρύσιον κιθαρίζων, v. 80), while Iulio 'would longingly sing celestial verses' ('celesti versi con disio cantava, [. . .]', *Stanze* 11.4). Both men lead idyllic lives in the countryside in a sort of *secol d'oro* (*Stanze* 20.2) before they encounter the women. At that moment they are both separated from their usual peer-group: λελειμμένος οἷος ἀπ' ἄλλων, v. 79 is transferred into the Italian vernacular by 'fuor d'ogni schiera' (*Stanze* 31.6) and they both perform the same movement: 'going up and down' (πωλεῖτ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, v. 80 corresponds with 'or qua or là volare', *Stanze* 31.5). Interestingly, wild beasts play a prominent role in both poems: wolves, bears, and lions (πολιοί τε λύκοι χαροποί τε λέοντες | ἄρκτοι παρδάλιές, vv. 70–1) are attributes of Aphrodite, who is raging with love and has the power to make the wild animals couple in the mountains.[30] In the *Stanze* they are the object of Iulio's hunting (cf. *Stanze* 30–2).

Let us continue with the description of the moment of the encounter, *Hymn* 5.81–90:

> στῆ δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
> παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη,
> μή μιν ταρβήσειεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας.
> Ἀγχίσης δ' ὁρόων ἐφράζετο θαύμαινέν τε
> εἶδός τε μέγεθος καὶ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα. (85)
> πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἔεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς,
> εἶχε δ' ἐπιγναμπτὰς ἕλικας κάλυκάς τε φαεινάς,
> ὅρμοι δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν
> καλοὶ χρύσειοι παμποίκιλοι· ὡς δὲ σελήνη
> στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἁπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι. (90)
>
> She stood there, before him, the daughter of Zeus, Aphrodite, having the stature and appearance of an untamed virgin, lest he be scared recognizing her with his eyes. And Anchises, seeing her, thought and admired her appearance and stature and gleaming clothes. For she wore a robe brighter than the light of fire, and had twisted armlets and shiny ear buds, and around her tender neck there were exceedingly beautiful necklaces, beautiful, golden, extremely variegated. And like the moon they shone on her tender breasts, a wonder to behold.

In the description of this incident both texts focus on the woman from the perspective of the man, underlining the amazement

[30] On Aphrodite's control over animals in the *Hymn*, see Faulkner (2008), 152–3.

(*θαύμαινεν*, v. 84 and *θαῦμα* v. 90), a common reaction to epiphany in literature:[31] 'Ivi tutto ripien di maraviglia | pur della ninfa mira la figura [. . .]' ('Here, filled with wonder, | he gazes upon the features of the nymph [. . .]', *Stanze* 38.4–5). This is caused by her figure and by her dress (*εἵματα σιγαλόεντα*, v. 85). In both descriptions flowers (*κάλυκάς τε φαεινάς*, v. 87) and 'twists' (*εἶχε δ' ἐπιγναμπτὰς ἕλικας*, v. 87) play an important role, *Stanze* 43.1–3: 'Candida è ella, e candida la vesta, | ma pur di rose e fior' dipinta e d'erba; | lo inanellato crin dall'aurea testa [. . .]' ('She is fair-skinned, unblemished white, and | white is her garment, though ornamented with | roses, flowers, and grass; the ringlets of her | golden hair descend on her forehead [. . .]').[32]

Finally the couples start talking to each other. Anchises, at *Hymn* 5.91–106, says:

> *Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἷλεν, ἔπος δέ μιν ἀντίον ηὔδα·*
> *Χαῖρε ἄνασσ', ἥ τις μακάρων τάδε δώμαθ' ἱκάνεις,*
> *Ἄρτεμις ἢ Λητὼ ἠὲ χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη*
> *ἢ Θέμις ἠϋγενὴς ἠὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*
> *ἤ πού τις Χαρίτων δεῦρ' ἤλυθες, αἵ τε θεοῖσι* (95)
> *πᾶσιν ἑταιρίζουσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται,*
> *ἤ τις νυμφάων αἵ τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται,*
> *ἢ νυμφῶν αἳ καλὸν ὄρος τόδε ναιετάουσι*
> *καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα.*
> *σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐν σκοπιῇ, περιφαινομένῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,* (100)
> *βωμὸν ποιήσω, ῥέξω δέ τοι ἱερὰ καλὰ*
> *ὥρῃσιν πάσῃσι· σὺ δ' εὔφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσα*
> *δός με μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ἀριπρεπέ' ἔμμεναι ἄνδρα,*
> *ποίει δ' εἰσοπίσω θαλερὸν γόνον, αὐτὰρ ἔμ' αὐτὸν*
> *δηρὸν ἐϋ ζώειν καὶ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο* (105)
> *ὄλβιον ἐν λαοῖς καὶ γήραος οὐδὸν ἱκέσθαι.*

And desire seized Anchises and he replied to her with (these) words: 'Hail to you, queen, whoever of the immortals you are that has come to this house, Artemis or Leto or golden Aphrodite or well-born Themis or

[31] Faulkner (2008), 164; D. Bremer, 'Die Epiphanie des Gottes in den homerischen Hymnen und Platons Gottesbegriff', *ZRGG* 27 (1975), 2 and 6–8 on the epiphany of Aphrodite in *h.Hom.* 5 in particular.

[32] *ἐπιγναμπτός* as an adjective ('curved', 'twisted') is only used here (LSJ, s.v.), but it is not clear whether it refers to the robe or to some sort of jewellery (Faulkner (2008), 167–8). One could almost suspect that Poliziano's *inanellato* with reference to Simonetta's hair (*crin*) might be a translation of the Greek word if it had not been used earlier by Petrarch in RVF CCLXX 62 (Bausi (1997), 45).

grey-eyed Athena; or perhaps you are one of the Graces, who consort with all the gods and are called immortal, or one of the nymphs, who dwell in beautiful groves, or one of the nymphs who dwell in this beautiful mountain and the river-springs and the grassy meadows. In a lookout-place, in a conspicuous area I will establish an altar and will offer good sacrifices in all seasons; and you, with a propitious mind, grant that I should become a prominent man among the Trojans and make my future offspring stout and grant that I live long and well and look upon the sun's light happy among my people, reaching the threshold of old age.'

In Poliziano's *Stanze* 49 Iulio addresses Simonetta with the following words:

> —O qual che tu ti sia, vergin sovrana,
> o ninfa o dea (ma dea m'assembri certo):
> se dea, forse che se' la mia Dïana;
> se pur mortal, chi tu sia fammi certo,
> chè tua sembianza è fuor di guisa umana;
> nè so già io qual sia tanto mio merto,
> qual dal cel grazia, qual sì amica stella,
> ch'io degno sia veder cosa sì bella.—

'Whatever you are, o sovereign virgin, nymph or | Goddess, but certainly you seem a goddess to | me; if a goddess, perhaps you are my Diana; if | mortal, tell me who you are, for your appear- | ance surpasses human nature; nor do I yet know | what merit of mine, what grace from heaven, | what friendly star makes me worthy to see | anything so beautiful.'

In the conversation Anchises is sure that he has met a goddess (which one is unclear to him, v. 92: *Χαῖρε ἄνασσ', ἥ τις μακάρων* [. . .], 'Hail to you, queen, whoever of the immortals you are [. . .]'). Iulio on the other hand asks Simonetta whether she is divine or human: 'O qual che tu ti sia, vergin sovrana, [. . .]' ('Whatever you are, o sovereign virgin, [. . .]'). It is interesting to note that in Poliziano's poem only Diana is mentioned, while in the *Hymn* Anchises makes several suggestions for the identity of the female figure (Artemis, Leto, Aphrodite, Themis, Athena, one of the Graces, or one of the nymphs). So, the encounter of Odysseus and Nausikaa in *Od.* 6.150–2 serves as an even closer model, where Nausikaa is also compared to Diana. This scene was picked up in the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas encounters Venus and suggests that she might be Diana or one of the nymphs (*Aen.* 1.329).[33]

[33] On *Aen.* 1.328, see R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos* (Oxford, 1971), 123.

Moreover, Anchises promises Aphrodite to build an altar for her, and offers sacrifices. Iulio, on the other hand, does not ask for blessings (v. 103: δός με [. . .]), but already feels blessed by the fact that he is allowed to meet her by 'grace from heaven' ('dal cel grazia') or a 'friendly star' ('amica stella').

Let us now see what Aphrodite and Simonetta answer, starting again with *Hymn* 5.107–12:

> Τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
> Ἀγχίση, κύδιστε χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων,
> οὔ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτῃσιν ἐΐσκεις;
> ἀλλὰ καταθνητή γε, γυνὴ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ. (110)
> Ὀτρεὺς δ' ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὄνομα κλυτός, εἴ που ἀκούεις,
> ὃς πάσης Φρυγίης εὐτειχήτοιο ἀνάσσει.

And then Zeus's daughter Aphrodite replied to him: 'Anchises, most honoured of the men who walk on earth, I am certainly no goddess. Why do you liken me to the immortal goddesses? Instead, I am a mortal, and it was a woman that bore me as my mother. My father bears the famous name Otreus, if perhaps you have heard it, who rules over the entire well-walled Phrygia.'

Simonetta on the other hand answers at *Stanze* 51:

> Io non son qual tua mente invano auguria,
> non d'altar degna, non di pura vittima;
> ma là sovr'Arno innella vostra Etruria
> sto soggiogata alla teda legittima;
> mia natal patria è nella aspra Liguria,
> sovra una costa alla riva marittima,
> ove fuor de'gran massi indarno gemere
> si sente il fer Nettunno e irato fremere.

'I am not what your mind vainly augurs, not | worthy of an altar nor of a pure sacrifice; but I | live upon the Arno in your Etruria, subject to | the legal bond; my native country is rugged | Liguria, upon a coastline on the maritime shore, | where, outside the great rock masses, proud and | angry Neptune is heard to shudder and groan in | vain.

Both women claim that they are mortal and point out where they come from originally (Phrygia and Liguria). However, while—to Iulio's disappointment—Simonetta is humbly telling the truth, Aphrodite is lying purposely to make Anchises agree to sleep with her.[34] Moreover,

[34] See Faulkner (2008), 162, for similar scenes in Greek literature where a goddess appears disguised as someone else. He also compares the *Hymn* to the seduction of Zeus by Hera in *Il.* 14.166ff. (Faulkner (2008), 32–3).

Simonetta assures Iulio that she is 'not worthy of an altar nor of a pure sacrifice' ('non d'altar degna, non di pura vittima'), mentioning just the same elements as Anchises offered to Aphrodite in the *Hymn*, v. 101: *βωμὸν* [. . .] *ἱερὰ καλά* ('an altar [. . .] good sacrifices').

The conversation between Iulio and Simonetta is a typical example of Poliziano's poetic technique of composing his poetry on several ancient literary models. All of them describe the unexpected encounter of a man and a woman: Aphrodite and Anchises in the *Hymn*, Aeneas and his mother Venus in disguise in *Aen.* 1.327–9 and 1.335, and Odysseus' question to Nausikaa in *Od.* 6.149–54.[35] These very famous allusions are echoed by the words of Iulio, as for example in *Stanze* 49.2 'ma dea m'assembri certo' ('but certainly you seem a goddess to me'), which resembles the Virgilian verse *Aen.* 1.328b *o, dea certe*. Also Simonetta's response in *Stanze* 51.2 'non d'altar degna, non di pura vittima' ('not worthy of an altar nor of a pure sacrifice') mirrors Venus' answer to her son Aeneas in *Aen.* 1.335: *Tum Venus: 'Haud equidem tali me dignor honore* [. . .]' ('Then said Venus: "Nay, I claim not such worship [. . .]"').[36] However, not only Aeneas' amazement, but also Odysseus' flattering shine through Iulio's question to Simonetta, when *Stanze* 49.2–4 'o ninfa o dea [. . .] se dea, [. . .]' ('nymph or Goddess [. . .] if a goddess, [. . .]') evoke Odysseus' compliments to Nausikaa (*Od.* 6.149b–150a): [. . .] *θεός νύ τις ἦ βροτός ἐσσι; | εἰ μέν τις θεός ἐσσι,* [. . .] ('[. . .] – are you a goddess, or are you mortal? If you are a goddess [. . .]').[37]

What seems to be a quick-witted collage by a show-off *poeta doctus* turns out to be an ingenious device to add a comic effect to the scene. The protagonists, the inexperienced Iulio and the innocent Simonetta, promise a completely plain, uninspired, and therefore rather boring conversation. Poliziano counteracts his readers' expectation by playing a joke on his harmless characters by the introduction of famous conversations that were not innocent and trusting at all: Odysseus addresses compliments to Nausikaa with great success while everyone knows perfectly well that he is married to Penelope. Aphrodite, being herself a victim of Zeus' revenge for his many love affairs caused by her, pretends to be a mortal woman who wants to marry Anchises. Venus appears disguised as a hunting virgin and visits her son undetected. All

[35] Carducci (1863), 29, 31.

[36] Trans. by H. R. Fairclough, *Virgil. Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI* (London and Cambridge, MA, 1999).

[37] Trans. by A. T. Murray, *Homer: The Odyssey, vol. 1* (Cambridge, MA, 1919).

in all, these stories fit perfectly well into Poliziano's poem, where the innocent Simonetta only serves as a medium for the revenge of Cupid, who hides behind her eyes (*Stanze* I.40).

Stanze I.99–103 and *Hymn* 6

This scene, the encounter of Simonetta and Iulio, is mirrored in the realm of the goddess Venus in the second half of the poem when Venus herself appears in a relief on the door-panels of her palace. The two 'epiphanies' of female beauty are clearly analogous for the following reasons: the repetitions of words and images are noteworthy, as for example the 'stellato ammanto' of the night that falls upon Iulio after having met Simonetta (I.60.1–2). This 'starry cloak' recalls the 'starry garment' that the Horai put around Aphrodite when she comes out of the water ('vestimento stellato', *Stanze* I.101.8). *Ex post* the reader now understands that the love-stricken Iulio is wrapped in Venus' powerful dress; in other words, Cupid's plan to conquer the haughty young man was successful. Furthermore, Simonetta's and Venus' impact on their environment is described similarly as both have the power to make brightly coloured herbs and flowers sprout under their feet[38] and both have the surrounding nature 'laughing about them', in Simonetta's case the forest and in Venus' case the Sky, who according to Hesiod is her father.[39] Strikingly, the expression 'in grembo' ('in the lap') appears twice,[40] at the end of Simonetta's answer to Iulio (*Stanze* I.53.8) and at the very beginning of Venus' birth (*Stanze* I.99.1). Moreover, the bond between the two passages in the *Stanze* is strengthened by Poliziano's cunning use of quotations and of allusions to ancient source texts. Firstly he recalls Virgil *Aen.* 1.327–9, leaving out a verse in between (*namque haud tibi vultus | mortalis*, 'for your face is not mortal', *Aen.* 1.327b–28a) in the earlier passage about Simonetta (*Stanze* I.49.1–3), and inserts this particular—previously omitted—verse in the later scene ('una donzella non con uman volto', 'a young woman with nonhuman face',

[38] Cf. *Stanze* I.55.7–8 and *Stanze* I.101.4–5. For the same image of herbs and flowers sprouting under a woman's footsteps cf. Petrarch, RVF, CLXV.1–4 and Hesiod, *Theog.* 194–5a. See also Zeus' seduction by Hera in the *Iliad*, and in particular the catalogue of plants that sprout beneath them in order to push them off the ground (*Il.* 14.346–9).

[39] Cf. *Stanze* I.43.5 and *Stanze* I.100.4.

[40] On the technique of verse repetition in Poliziano, see Bausi (1997), II, 37.

Stanze I.99.6). Secondly, and most interesting for us, he harks back to *h.Hom.* 5 and 6 in both passages: *Hymn* 5 (vv. 68–112) is—among other ancient text-models—evoked in the first half of the first book of the *Stanze*, in order to link the 'encounter scene' between Simonetta and Iulio to that between Aphrodite and Anchises. *h.Hom.* 6, as I hinted at in the beginning, shines through the octaves of *Stanze* I.99 to 103. However, this passage fuses not only *h.Hom.* 6 but also Hesiod's account of Venus' birth,[41] a passage from Ovid, Cavalcanti, and Poliziano himself.[42]

If we focus on the comparison of *Stanze* I.99–102 with *h.Hom.* 6 we realize that Poliziano manages to adopt verses 3 to 18 out of the 21 verses of *h.Hom.* 6 into his poem, creating a translation that fits into the given context of the *Stanze*. Warburg summarizes the relation between the two poems as follows: 'The action in the Italian poem, as will be seen, broadly follows that of the *Homeric Hymn*; in both, Venus, as she rises from the sea is carried on shore by Zephyrus, there to be received by the goddesses of the seasons. Poliziano's original additions are almost entirely limited to the delineation of details [. . .].'[43] It is Poliziano's text that Botticelli uses as an inspiration for his painting as they both differ from Homer in the same details, such as the conch, the plural 'Zefiri', and Aphrodite's posture: 'The plausible supposition that the *concetto* was given to Botticelli by Poliziano himself [. . .] is made into a certainty by the fact that, as will be shown, the painter departs from the *Homeric Hymn* at exactly the same points as the poet.'[44] Warburg's observation focuses on the congruent 'action' (*Handlung*) and the differing 'details and

[41] Hesiod's *Theog.* 154–206 about Venus' birth out of the foam that formed around Uranus' genitals when they fell into the ocean due to Kronos' cruel deed: cf. *Stanze* I.101 with *Theog.* 194–5. On Hes. *Theog.* 188–206 as a background of *h.Hom.* 6 as a whole, and of its narrative portion (vv. 3–18) in particular, see S. D. Olson, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and Related Texts* (Berlin, 2012), 279f.

[42] For *Stanze* I.100 passages were taken from Ovid *Met.* 2.13–14 and 6.104. Poliziano made use of his own *Epigr. Graec.* LIV 5 in *Stanze* I.101 and of Cavalcanti's *Rime* IV.1–2 in *Stanze* I.103.

[43] 'Die Handlung in dem italienischen Gedicht ist, wie man sieht, im Ganzen durchaus vom homerischen Hymnus bestimmt; hier wie dort wird die aus dem Meer aufsteigende Venus vom Zephyrwind an das Land getrieben, wo sie die Göttinnen der Jahreszeiten empfangen. Die eigenen Zuthaten Polizians beziehen sich fast nur auf die Ausmalung der Einzelheiten und des Beiwerks [. . .]' (Warburg (1980), 18; Eng. trans. by David Britt).

[44] Warburg (1980), 2: '[. . .] dass eben Polizian [. . .] dem Botticelli das Concetto übermittelte, wird durch die Thatsache zur Gewissheit, dass der Maler in denselben

accessories' (*Einzelheiten* und *Beiwerk*). In fact, it is interesting to see how Poliziano strictly follows the chronological order, faithfully adopting every single item mentioned in the *Hymn*, while on the other hand he freely substitutes most of the *epitheta ornantia*. This 'translation technique' can be observed in almost every one of the five stanzas:

Hymn 6.1–5a

Αἰδοίην χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην
ἄσομαι, ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν
εἰναλίης, ὅθι μιν Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος
ἤνεικεν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
ἁφρῷ ἔνι μαλακῷ·

Of the reverend, golden-crowned, beautiful Aphrodite will I sing, who has obtained as her lot the citadels of all sea-girt Cyprus, where the force of Zephyrus with his moist blast brought her upon the waves of the much-roaring sea in soft foam.

Stanze 99

Nel tempestoso Egeo in grembo a Teti
si vede il frusto genitale accolto,
sotto diverso volger di pianeti
errar per l'onde in bianca schiuma avvolto;
e drento nata in atti vaghi e lieti
una donzella non con uman volto,
da zefiri lascivi spinta a proda,
gir sovra un nicchio, e par che 'l cel ne goda.

In the stormy Aegean, the genital member is | seen to be received in the lap of Tethys, to drift | across the waves, wrapped in white foam, be- | neath the various turnings of the planets; and | within, both with lovely and happy gestures, a | young woman with nonhuman countenance, is | carried on a conch shell, wafted to shore by | playful zephyrs; and it seems that heaven re- | joices in her birth.

It is remarkable that in stanza 99 *Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος* ('the force of Zephyrus with his moist blast', v. 3) was transformed into 'zefiri lascivi' ('playful zephyrs') and 'soft' foam (*ἁφρῷ ἔνι μαλακῷ*, v. 5) is transformed into 'white' foam ('bianca schiuma'). The sea, however, is characterized as the 'stormy Aegean' ('tempestoso Egeo') rather

Dingen wie der Dichter vom Homerischen Hymnus abweicht' (Eng. trans. by David Britt).

than 'the waves of the much-roaring sea' (*κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*, v. 4).

Hymn 6.5b

τὴν δὲ χρυσάμπυκες Ὧραι (5)

And her the Horai with golden headbands . . .

Stanze 100

Vera la schiuma e vero il mar diresti,
e vero il nicchio e ver soffiar di venti;
la dea negli occhi folgorar vedresti,
e 'l cel riderli a torno e gli elementi;
l'Ore premer l'arena in bianche vesti,
l'aura incresparli e crin' distesi e lenti;
non una, non diversa esser lor faccia,
come par ch'a sorelle ben confaccia.

You would call the foam real, the sea real, real | the conch shell and real the blowing wind; you | would see the lightning in the goddess's eyes, the | sky and the elements laughing about her; the | the Hours treading the beach in white garments, | the breeze curling their loosened and flowing hair; | their faces not one, not different, as befits sisters.

The Hours or 'Horai' take up an entire stanza of their own (100): they are not simply *χρυσάμπυκες* ('with golden headbands', v. 5), but in addition to dealing with their clothes and hairstyle Poliziano describes them by using two verses from Ovid's *Met*. 2.13b–14: 'They [i.e. Doris and her daughters] have not all the same appearance, and yet not altogether different; as it should be with sisters.'[45]

Hymn 6.6

δέξαντ' ἀσπασίως, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἕσσαν,

received happily, and dressed her with immortal clothes . . .

Stanze 101

Giurar potresti che dell'onde uscissi
la dea premendo colla destra il crino,
coll'altra il dolce pome ricoprissi;
e, stampata dal piè sacro e divino,
d'erbe e di fior' l'arena si vestissi;

[45] Trans. by F. J. Miller, *Ovid: Metamorphoses, vol. 1* (Cambridge, MA, 1916), Ov. *Met*. 2.13b–14: *facies non omnibus una, | non diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.*

poi, con sembiante lieto e peregrino,
dalle tre ninfe in grembo fussi accolta,
e di stellato vestimento involta.

You could swear that the goddess had emerged | from the waves, pressing her hair with her right | hand, covering with the other her sweet mound | of flesh; and where the strand was imprinted by | her sacred and divine step, it had clothed itself | in flowers and grass; then with happy, more than | mortal features, she was received in the bosom | of the three nymphs and cloaked in a starry gar- | ment.

Stanza 101 introduces Aphrodite at the moment when she leaves the water and steps on dry land. The adaption of the *Hymn* continues only in the last two lines of the stanza, when Aphrodite is welcomed by the nymphs and dressed in 'divine clothing' (*ἄμβροτος*, v. 6), which is changed into a 'starry garment' ('stellato').

Hymn 6.7–13

κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀθανάτῳ στεφάνην εὔτυκτον ἔθηκαν
καλὴν χρυσείην, ἐν δὲ τρητοῖσι λοβοῖσιν
ἄνθεμ' ὀρειχάλκου χρυσοῦό τε τιμήεντος,
δειρῇ δ' ἀμφ' ἀπαλῇ καὶ στήθεσιν ἀργυφέοισιν (10)
ὅρμοισι χρυσέοισιν ἐκόσμεον οἷσί περ αὐταὶ
Ὧραι κοσμείσθην χρυσάμπυκες ὁππότ' ἴοιεν
ἐς χορὸν ἱμερόεντα θεῶν καὶ δώματα πατρός.

and on her immortal head they placed a well-made crown, beautiful and golden, and in her pierced ear-lobes they attached flowers made of mountain-copper and prized gold, and adorned her tender neck and silver-white breasts with golden necklaces, with which the Horai themselves of the golden headbands adorned themsleves whenever they went to the lovely dance of the gods and the abodes of their father.

Stanze 102

Questa con ambe man le tien sospesa
sopra l'umide trezze una ghirlanda
d'oro e di gemme orïentali accesa;
questa una perla alli orecchi accomanda;
l'altra al bel petto e' bianchi omeri intesa,
par che ricchi monili intorno spanda,
de' quai solien cerchiar lor proprie gole
quando nel ciel guidavon le carole.

With both hands one nymph holds above the | spray-wet tresses a garland, burning with gold | and oriental gems, another adjusts pearls

> in her | ears; the third, intent upon those beautiful | breasts and white shoulders, appears to strew | round them the rich necklaces with which they | three girded their own necks when they used to | dance in a ring in heaven.

Stanza 102 completely follows the model of the *Hymn* (vv. 7–13) and describes how the nymphs adorn Aphrodite with a garland on her head, earrings—Poliziano uses 'pearls' ('perle') instead of 'flowers made of mountain-copper and prized gold' (*ἄνθεμ' ὀρειχάλκου χρυσοῖό τε τιμήεντος*)—as well as necklaces around her throat and breasts. They use the same jewellery that they put on when attending a ball in Zeus' palace, 'the abodes of their father' (*δώματα πατρός*), which Poliziano simply replaces by 'in heaven' ('nel ciel'). While the *Hymn* talks of the nymphs as a group, Poliziano distinguishes between three different nymphs ('one [. . .] another [. . .] the third [. . .]'; 'Questa [. . .] questa [. . .] l'altra'), each of whom is responsible for one part of Aphrodite's body (head, ears, breasts, and shoulders).[46]

Hymn 6.14–21

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῒ κόσμον ἔθηκαν
ἦγον ἐς ἀθανάτους· οἱ δ' ἠσπάζοντο ἰδόντες (15)
χερσί τ' ἐδεξιόωντο καὶ ἠρήσαντο ἕκαστος
εἶναι κουριδίην ἄλοχον καὶ οἴκαδ' ἄγεσθαι,
εἶδος θαυμάζοντες ἰοστεφάνου Κυθερείης.
Χαῖρ' ἑλικοβλέφαρε γλυκυμείλιχε, δὸς δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι
νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι, ἐμὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν. (20)
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

> Then, after they had placed all the adornments on her body, they brought her to the immortals. Seeing her they greeted her with their right hand and each of them desired that she become his wedded wife and that he bring her home, admiring the beauty of violet-crowned Cytherea. Hail quick-glancing sweet-smiling one, grant that I carry the victory in this competition, and raise my song. As for me, I shall remember you also in another song.

[46] A few years later (1485) Poliziano describes a rather similar scene, when the Nereids adorn Thetis who thanks Zeus for his decision to let Homer be born in order to give eternal glory to Thetis' son Achilles. This toilette also shows a similar grammatical structure that divides the Nereids into groups: *pars . . . pars . . . pars . . . hae . . . illa . . . hae* (Pol. *Ambra*, 185–90).

Stanze 103

Indi paion, levate inver' le spere,
seder sovra una nuvola d'argento:
l'aier tremante ti parria vedere
nel duro sasso, e tutto il cel contento;
tutti li dei di sua biltà godere,
e del felice letto aver talento:
ciascun sembrar nel volto Meraviglia,
con fronte crespa e rilevate ciglia.

Thence they seem to be raised toward the heav- | enly spheres, seated upon a silver cloud: in the | hard stone you would seem to see the air trem- | bling and all of heaven contented; every god | takes pleasure in her beauty and desires her hap- | py bed: each face seems to marvel, with raised | eyebrows and wrinkled forehead.

In stanza 103 Aphrodite is introduced to the gods (ἐς ἀθανάτους, v. 15)—simply paraphrased by Poliziano as 'heavenly spheres' ('inver' le spere, [. . .] sovra una nuvola')—who all want to go to bed with her because they are astonished by her appearance. Instead of repeating why the gods are astonished 'at the beauty of violet-crowned Cytherea' (εἶδος θαυμάζοντες ἰοστεφάνου Κυθερείης, v. 18) Poliziano gives a rather funny description of what the gods look like in their astonishment 'with raised eyebrows and wrinkled forehead' ('con fronte crespa e rilevate ciglia').

It is noteworthy that Poliziano integrates the poem into an *ekphrasis* that requests additions such as 'si vede' (99.2), 'par che' (102.6), 'indi paion' (103.1), and 'ti parria vedere' (103.3). At the same time he transforms the Greek hexameter most elegantly into Italian *endekasyllaboi*, adding the end rhymes demanded by the octaves. Taking these formal limitations into account, this passage could even be described as the first surviving translation of *h.Hom.* 6 into the Italian vernacular (see especially *Stanze* I.101–3).[47]

Poliziano must have been proud of this accomplishment as a 'poet-translator'. This becomes especially clear when we look at the homograph 'omeri' in 102.5: firstly, it obviously indicates the 'shoulders' of Venus, which are adorned by the nymphs; secondly, however, it is the genitive form of *Homerus*, who in this word suddenly appears in the text. This role of 'omeri' as a poetic meta-commentary is evidently

[47] See Schönberger and Schönberger (2011), 13 on Poliziano's art of translation.

very meaningful: clearly, Poliziano inserted the word into his version purposely, for there is no corresponding word in the Greek text that would have demanded this particular translation (δειρῇ δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ in verse 10 means 'about her tender neck', not 'shoulders'). Moreover, the 'neck' is not left out but is mentioned later in *Stanze* 102.7. In this case it pertains to the nymphs, where in the Greek it is missing ('de' quai solien cerchiar lor proprie gole'). Shining without a flaw like the white beauty of Aphrodite, the *Hymn to Aphrodite*—written by the god-like Homer—was rediscovered or 'reborn' in Renaissance Florence. There it is welcomed on safe land by humanistic poets such as Poliziano himself. In the same way as the nymphs adorn Aphrodite with precious jewellery, he adorns the Greek text, by his brilliant transformation of it into Italian octaves.

17

'Those miraculous effusions of genius'

The Homeric Hymns *Seen through the Eyes of English Poets*

Nicholas Richardson

INTRODUCTION

On 5 April 1817, Shelley's friend Jefferson Hogg wrote to him: 'I have no doubt Peacock has shown you in those miraculous effusions of genius, Homer's Hymns, these amongst other magical verses' (quoting *h.Ap.* 399–401)[1]. In January of the following year Shelley began translating some of the shorter *Hymns* in heroic couplets, and two years later, in July 1820, he translated the whole of the major *Hymn to Hermes*, in *ottava rima*.[2]

[1] I should like to thank Richard McCabe, Patrick Martin, and Henry Mason for helpful advice on various points. For Chapman's *Homer* and *Homerica*, I have used the edition by A. Nicoll, *Chapman's Homer, Volume 1, The Iliad, Volume 2, The Odyssey and Lesser Homerica*, 2nd edn (London, 1967). The 2008 reprint of his *Hymns* and *Homerica* has a good introduction by Stephen Scully. For Chapman, see also G. de F. Lord, *Homeric Renaissance. The* Odyssey *of George Chapman* (London, 1956); M. MacLure, *George Chapman. A Critical Study* (Toronto, 1966); S. Underwood, *English Translations of Homer, from George Chapman to Christopher Logue* (Plymouth, 1998); and J. Gardiner, *The Life and Times of George Chapman* (Hitchin, 2002). The edition of Congreve by D. F. McKenzie, *The Works of William Congreve*, Vol. 2 (Oxford, 2011) is excellent, as is the new edition of Shelley's poems, vol. 2 by K. Everest and G. Matthews, *The Poems of Shelley, 1817–1819* (London, 2000), and vol. 3 by J. Donovan et al., *The Poems of Shelley, 1819–20* (London, 2011). For Shelley as translator, T. Webb, *The Violet and the Crucible. Shelley and Translation* (Oxford, 1976), is invaluable.

[2] Cf. Everest and Matthews (2000), 338–9; Donovan et al. (2011), 508.

This was not the first stirring of interest in these poems during this period. Leigh Hunt had made a lively version of *Hymn* 7, about Dionysus and the pirates, in 1814, and Peacock's adaptation of the same poem forms part of Canto five of his *Rhododaphne*, of which Mary Shelley made a fair copy in December 1817. Shelley and his friends were attracted to the *Hymns* by their vitality and evocation of the natural world as infused by the divine, and also by their more light-hearted aspects.[3]

This period also saw a reawakening of enthusiasm for the poetry of George Chapman, Shakespeare's contemporary, who was the first poet to translate all the works ascribed to Homer into English, including the *Hymns*. In 1781 Johnson described his versions as 'now totally neglected'. But in 1808 Coleridge praised his *Odyssey* as 'an exquisite poem, in spite of its frequent and perverse quaintnesses and harshnesses, which are however amply repaid by almost unexampled sweetness and beauty of language, all over spirit and feeling'. Keats' sonnet, 'On first looking into Chapman's Homer', was composed in October 1816. Two days after beginning his translation of the shorter *Hymns* Shelley ordered Chapman's version of them, asking for the volume to be sent to him 'if possible by tomorrow's coach'.[4]

Between Chapman and the Romantics there is not much evidence of interest in the *Hymns* among English poets. Phineas Fletcher retold the story of Aphrodite's love for Anchises in a poem written between 1603 and 1616.[5] At the end, Anchises reveals the truth about their affair and is punished by Jove, but this need not be directly related to the version in the *Hymn*, and otherwise the story is told very differently.

Between 1488, the date of Chalcondyles' *editio princeps*, and 1606, there was a series of editions of the *Hymns* in Greek, but the next editor to tackle the text was Joshua Barnes in 1711. Critical interest thereafter was steadier, with several editions in the eighteenth century and more in the early nineteenth.

The major exception to this neglect is William Congreve's fine version of the longer *Hymn to Aphrodite*, in heroic couplets, published

[3] Cf. Webb (1976), 63–79.

[4] Cf. Underwood (1998), 16–17, 26–7; Everest and Matthews (2000), 338.

[5] Cf. E. Seaton, *Venus and Anchises (Brittain's Ida) and Other Poems by Phineas Fletcher* (Oxford, 1926), 1–20.

in 1710.[6] In his preface, Congreve writes that he had once thought of translating the other two major *Hymns*, to Apollo and Hermes, but decided that these needed a commentary because of their allusions and complexity. (The *Hymn to Demeter* was still unknown at this time.[7]) He says that he 'had often read them all with extraordinary pleasure' and he defends Homer's authorship of the *Hymns*.

Chapman, Congreve, and Shelley stand out as the most distinguished English translators of these poems.

CHAPMAN

Chapman's version forms part of his final volume of Homeric verse, entitled *The Crowne of all Homer's Worckes*.[8] It contained also the *Batrachomyomachia* and the *Epigrams* ascribed to Homer. It has no date of publication, but modern scholarship has tended to favour a date of around 1624.[9]

It is dedicated to the Earl of Somerset, Robert Carr (or Kerr).[10] Chapman had already dedicated his *Odyssey* to the same patron in 1614–15. At that time Carr was at the height of his political career, as the favourite of King James I. But in 1615 he and his wife were accused of involvement in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and imprisoned in the Tower until 1622. They were convicted but later pardoned, Carr, however, only in 1624, when he was debarred from attending court or parliament. Thereafter he took little part in politics.

Chapman begins the dedicatory verses for the volume containing the *Hymns*:

> Not forc't by fortune, but since your free minde
> (Made by affliction) rests in choice resign'd
> To calme Retreate . . . .

[6] Cf. McKenzie (2011), 439–54.

[7] For the rediscovery of the *Hymn to Demeter* at the end of the eighteenth century, see Chapter 18, Introduction, p. 346.

[8] For Chapman's life, cf. M. T. Burnett, 'Chapman, George (1559/60–1634), poet and playwright', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

[9] Cf. Nicoll (1967), vol. 2, 499–617.

[10] For Carr's life cf. A. Bellany, 'Carr [Kerr], Robert, earl of Somerset (1585/6?–1645), *favourite of James I*', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

He goes on to advise him to 'Retire to strength, then, of eternall things', offers him the hope of fame through Chapman's poetry, and encourages him to use his retirement, like an able commander, to recoup his forces. This suggests that the dedication was written soon after Somerset's release from the Tower, possibly around the time of his pardon in 1624. Chapman's fidelity to Somerset is remarkable after his dramatic fall from favour. As Lord Chamberlain in 1614 Somerset could have been useful to Chapman in his dramatic work. He could have also helped him financially, for Chapman was frequently in trouble over debt. But by the 1620s Somerset himself had lost much of his property after his conviction.

Nevertheless, the *Crowne* is a costly and handsome folio volume. Its title page shows the poet Homer being crowned by Apollo, Hermes, and Athena, with Chapman below, surrounded by clouds, the motto *Conscium evasi diem* (Seneca, *Oed.* 1001: 'I have escaped the witness of the day'), and vignettes of the battle of the frogs and mice, and flying eagles. The suggestion of an analogy between poet and translator is typical of Chapman's identification with Homer, evident in his earlier translations. In the preface to the *Crowne* he says of Homer that 'All his observance and honor of the Gods rather mov'd their envies against him than their rewards, or respects of his endevours', and so 'he liv'd unhonord and needie till his death'. In his valedictory verses at the end of the book he inveighs with withering scorn against his critics, as at the end of his dedication to Somerset he had spoken of 'the vile Soule of this Verminous time', which loves more 'the Sale-Muse, and the Squirrel's chime, Than this full sphere of Poesie's sweetest Prime' (136–8). Chapman identifies his fortune with Homer's, and he expresses sympathy with his patron's misfortunes, as similar to his own sufferings.

There is no doubt about his pride in his achievement. Direct translation from Greek (as opposed to through the medium of Latin or a modern language) was still extremely rare in Chapman's time. The one major exception, the King James Bible, was the work of a group of scholars. The only English translation of any substantial part of a Homeric poem before Chapman is Arthur Hall's *Ten Books of the Iliad* (1581), from the French version of Hugues Salel (1545). Chapman's achievement is the more remarkable in that his main output for most of his career was as a dramatist. One factor in his choice of translation seems to have been the need for money. But he also saw himself as having a special insight into the Homeric poems.

In his '*Euthymiae Raptus*, or the Tears of Peace' (1609) he has a vision of Homer, who says 'thou didst inherit / My true sense . . . in my spirit' (82–3), and in his introduction to the *Iliad* he exhorts his readers, with reference to Homer, to 'love him (thus reviv'd) / As borne in England'.[11] He shows no doubts that Homer was the author of the *Hymns* and other Homerica, and at the end of his preface to the *Crowne* he urges the reader to 'heare our ever-the-Same intranced and never-sleeping Master of the Muses, to his last accent incomparablie singing'.

For these versions he chose the same metrical form as for his *Odyssey*, the rhyming pentameter, as opposed to the fourteen-syllable couplets of the *Iliad.* For all the poems he used the text of Spondanus (Jean de Sponde), published in 1583, which was the first edition to contain a commentary. This commentary, however, only covers the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* He also drew freely on the Latin versions accompanying Spondanus' text.[12] The one for the *Hymns* was by George Dartona of Crete. These versions were often inaccurate, and there are many places where Chapman has been misled by the Latin. For example ἄδον, meaning 'they were pleasing' in *h.Ap.* 22, is rendered *cantabant* in the Latin, and Chapman has 'did sing for joy' (33); and ᾄειδε, meaning 'he was singing' in *h.Herm.* 62, becomes *scivit*, and in Chapman 'she knew' (129). He also used the Greek–Latin *Lexicon* of Johannes Scapula (1580), and the Latin *Dictionary* of Ambrosius Calepinus (1502).[13]

Chapman was accused of making his versions directly from the Latin, and he responds angrily: 'But there is a certain envious Windfucker, that hovers up and down, laboriously engrossing al the aire with his luxurious ambition and buzzing into every eare my detraction—affirming I turne Homer out of the Latine onely . . . '[14] No doubt the accusation was unjust, but without the Latin to help he might have found the *Hymns* too much of a struggle. At the same time, there are many other places where he makes mistakes of his own, not derived from the Latin.

[11] Cf. Nicoll (1967), vol. 1, 11.

[12] For the history of the Latin versions of the Homeric poems, cf. R. Sowerby, 'The Homeric *Versio Latina*', *ICS* 21 (1996), 161–202.

[13] On these and other possible aids used by Chapman, cf. H. C. Fay, 'Chapman's Materials for his Translation of Homer', *The Review of English Studies* 2 (1951), 121–8.

[14] Cf. Nicoll (1967), vol. 1, 17, lines 157–60.

He also liked to expand his text with additions of his own, sometimes moralizing comments, or drawing out the implications of the original. A good example of this is in the *Hymn to Mercury*, when the god finds the tortoise, and says that he will take it home, because it will be useful to him there, and 'it is better to be at home, because out-of-doors is harmful' (*h.Herm.* 34–6). These lines are turned by Chapman into a sermon of twelve lines (62–73):

> ἀλλ' οἴσω σ' εἰς δῶμα λαβών· ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσσῃ,
> οὐδ' ἀποτιμήσω· σὺ δέ με πρώτιστον ὀνήσεις.
> οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφιν·
>
> but (surpris'd by me)
> I'le beare thee home, where thou shalt ever be
> A Profit to me; and yet nothing more
> Will I contemne thee in my merited store. (65)
> Goods, with good parts got, worth and honour gave;
> Left goods and honours every foole may have.
> And since thou first shalt give me meanes to live,
> I'le love thee ever. Virtuous qualities give
> To live at home with them enough content, (70)
> Where those that want such inward ornament
> Fly out for outward, their life made their lode:
> Tis best to be at home; Harme lurks abroad.

This may be a compliment to Somerset, whose 'Retreat' he had praised in his dedication. He could also be voicing his own views, since he seems to have spent more time in his home town of Hitchin, rather than near the court in London, in this period of his life.

Another feature of his style which he continues from his earlier Homeric versions is the complex way in which he translates formulaic epithets, often creating new coinages or running a whole phrase together as a single word. A fine example of a coinage is 'Indevirginate' as an epithet of Athene at *h.Aphr.* 8 (Chapman line 11). In *h.Ap.* 42, the phrase Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων is rendered 'Of voice-divided-choice humanities' (taking μερόπων as an adjective), and in *h.Ap.* 254 Apollo is 'the all-bounds-reacher'. Quite often such compounds have no equivalent in the Greek at this point, as in the last instance, or at *h.Herm.* 145, where 'nor did the dogs bark' becomes 'nor any Dogg durst spend / His borne-to-barke mouth at him'. In the passage in *h.Herm.* about Apollo arriving at Onchestus in his search for his

cattle Chapman seems to have been carried away, and indulges in a whole series of these epithets (*Mercury* 345–9):

> And now the Ayre-begot Aurora rose
> From out the Ocean great-in-ebbs-and-flows,
> When, at the never-shorne, pure-and-faire Grove
> Onchestus, consecrated to the love
> Of round-and-long-neckt Neptune . . .

Chapman had already defended himself for what he calls his 'farre-fetcht and, as it were, beyond-sea manner of writing', in his preface to his version of the Shield of Achilles, published in 1598.[15] There he claims that his 'varietie of new wordes' have enriched the language, and cites Chaucer as a precedent, 'by whom we will needes authorise our true English', for the creation of 'more new words for his time than any man needs to devise now'. This should be seen against the background of contemporary debate about poetic language, reflected for example in Spenser's dedicatory letter to *The Shepheardes Calendar* (1579), where he defends his use of archaic English words (many of them Chaucerian), rather than those borrowed from foreign languages.

Chapman contrasts his own type of coinage, which he calls 'an elegancie authentically derived', with the inventions of rivals, described as 'their owne forgeries lickt up by nature'. He gives the example of the new word 'swaggering', saying that 'rounde-headed custome gives it priviledge with much imitation, being created, as it were, by a natural Prosopopeia without etymologie or derivation'. The objection may be that from the verb 'swag', meaning to sway, the noun 'swaggerer' has been created, by personifying the action. But the etymology of 'swag' does not support the new meaning of behaving or speaking arrogantly or boastfully, and so Chapman objects to it.

'Swaggering', 'swagger', and 'swaggerer' first occur in the 1590s, in several plays by different dramatists, including Nashe (*Saffron Walden*) and Shakespeare. 'Swaggerer' is used once in *Midsummer Night's Dream* (III.i.82), but in *Henry IV*, Part 2, which is probably to be dated to 1597, these words are repeated thirteen times within the space of less than forty lines in the 'Tavern scene' (II.ii.68–107, Arden edition). Mistress Quickly objects to 'swaggerers', saying 'I am worse when one says "swagger"', and 'I cannot abide swaggerers'. Chapman may have this scene in mind, given the closeness of the dates. His

[15] Cf. Nicoll (1967), vol. 1, 548–9.

disapproval would reflect his view of Shakespeare's style as too popular. Shakespeare was perhaps also reflecting some objection to these words by harping on them in this way. Chapman's criticism could then support the theory of him and Shakespeare as rival poets.[16]

Many critics have said of Chapman's Homeric versions that their faults are counterbalanced by the vigour and freshness of his style. This is as true of his *Hymns* as of the earlier poems. One example of an effective passage is the speech of Apollo to Hermes on hearing him play the lyre (*h.Herm.* 435–55, Chapman 768–801):

καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
Βουφόνε μηχανιῶτα πονεύμενε δαιτὸς ἑταῖρε
πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀντάξια ταῦτα μέμηλας.
ἡσυχίως καὶ ἔπειτα διακρινέεσθαι ὀίω.
νῦν δ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ πολύτροπε Μαιάδος υἱὲ
ἦ σοί γ' ἐκ γενετῆς τάδ' ἅμ' ἔσπετο θαυματὰ ἔργα
ἦέ τις ἀθανάτων ἠὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
δῶρον ἀγαυὸν ἔδωκε καὶ ἔφρασε θέσπιν ἀοιδήν;
θαυμασίην γὰρ τήνδε νεήφατον ὄσσαν ἀκούω,
ἣν οὔ πώ ποτέ φημι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἀνδρῶν,
οὔτε τιν' ἀθανάτων οἳ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι,
νόσφι σέθεν φιλῆτα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ.
τίς τέχνη, τίς μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων,
τίς τρίβος; ἀτρεκέως γὰρ ἅμα τρία πάντα πάρεστιν
εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἥδυμον ὕπνον ἐλέσθαι.
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μούσῃσιν Ὀλυμπιάδεσσιν ὀπηδός,
τῇσι χοροί τε μέλουσι καὶ ἀγλαὸς οἶμος ἀοιδῆς
καὶ μολπὴ τεθαλυῖα καὶ ἱμερόεις βρόμος αὐλῶν·
ἀλλ' οὔ πώ τί μοι ὧδε μετὰ φρεσὶν ἄλλο μέλησεν
οἷα νέων θαλίῃς ἐνδέξια ἔργα πέλονται·
θαυμάζω Διὸς υἱὲ τάδ' ὡς ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζεις.

Who, therefore, thus did his Deserts entreate:
'Master of Sacrifice! Chiefe soule of feast!
Patient of all paines! Artizan so blest
That all things thou canst doe in any One!
Worth fiftie Oxen is th'Invention
Of this one Lute. We both shall now, I hope,
In firm peace worke to all our wishes' scope.
Informe me (thou that every way canst winde,

[16] Cf. K. Duncan-Jones, *Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan* (London, 2011), 129–54 for recent discussion of this theory.

And turne to Act, all wishes of thy minde)
Together with thy birth came all thy skill?
Or did some God, or God-like man, instill
This heavenly song to thee? Me thinks I heare
A new voice, such as never yet came nere (780)
The brest of any, either Man or God,
Till in thee it had Prime and Period.
What Art, what Muse that medcine can produce
For cares most curelesse, what inveterate use
Or practise of a virtue so profuse (785)
(Which three doe all the contribution keepe
That Joy or Love confers, or pleasing Sleepe)
Taught thee the soveraigne facture of them all?
I of the Muses am the capitall
Consort or follower; and to these belong (790)
The grace of dance, all worthie waies of song
And ever-florishing verse, the delicate Set
And sound of Instruments. But never yet
Did anything so much affect my minde
With joy and care to compasse as this kinde (795)
Of Song and Play, that for the spritely feast
Of florishing assemblies are the best
And aptest works that ever Worth gave Act.
My powres with admiration stand distract
To heare with what a hand to make in love (800)
Thou rul'st thy Lute.'

This keeps reasonably close to the original, and catches the spirit of the Greek, expressing Apollo's wonder at this new power of music.

CONGREVE

In 1693 John Dryden writes, in the preface to *Examen Poeticum: being the third Part of Miscellany Poems*:

> Notwithstanding my haste, I cannot forbear to tell your Lordship, that there are two fragments of *Homer* Translated in this *Miscellany;* one by Mr. *Congreve* (whom I cannot mention without the Honour which is due to his excellent Parts, and that entire Affection which I bear him;) and the other by myself. Both the subjects are pathetical; and I am sure

> my Friend has added to the Tenderness which he found in the original; and, without Flattery, surpass'd his Author.

Further on he adds:

> I wish Mr. *Congreve* had the leisure to Translate him [Homer], and the World the good Nature and Justice, to Encourage him in that Notable Design, of which he is more capable than any Man I know.[17]

The *Examen* actually includes two pieces by Congreve, '*Priam's* Lamentation and Petition to *Achilles*, For the Body of his Son *Hector*', and 'The Lamentations of *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, and *Helen*, Over the Dead Body of *Hector*'. Dryden's piece is 'The Last parting of *Hector* and *Andromache*'.

Alexander Pope used two lines from Congreve's second passage in his own translation (24.934–5), and he ended his Observations on the poem with a dedication of his version to him, commenting elsewhere that he did so 'as a memorial of our friendship occasioned by his translation of this last part of Homer'.[18] Congreve was aged only 23 in 1693, and the Homeric versions were among his first essays in poetry, as Pope observed. Congreve's statement in the preface to his 1710 version of *Homer's Hymn to Venus*, that he had once thought of translating the other two longer *Hymns*, may suggest that this was also originally done in the 1690s.[19]

In his defence of the Homeric authorship of the *Hymns* he invokes the authority of Thucydides, who quotes *h.Ap.* as the work of the poet in 3.104, as against the later tradition, which ascribed it to Cynaethus, and cites Casaubon as a modern supporter of his view. He concludes eloquently:

> Now whether it be more reasonable, by the example of so learned a man as Casaubon, to give credit to the Authority of Thucydides, the most grave, wise, faithful, and consummate Historian that ever wrote; or to give in to the Scruples, Conjectures, and Suggestions of Scholiasts and Grammarians; I leave to the Determination of each impartial Reader.[20]

Congreve's own copy of Spondanus' edition (the 1606 printing) is now in the Morgan Library & Museum in New York, and he most

[17] Cf. A. Lindsay and H. Erskine-Hill, *William Congreve. The Critical Heritage* (London, 1989), 66–7.
[18] Cf. McKenzie (2011), 635.
[19] Cf. McKenzie (2011), 681.
[20] Cf. McKenzie (2011), 442.

probably used this for his text of the *Hymn*. At some points he makes mistakes corresponding with errors of the Latin version in Spondanus. For example at *h.Aphr.* 165 *ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου* ('on a silver-studded chair') is translated *in sedem aureis clavis confixam,* and Congreve has 'on a Chair of Gold'. At *h.Aphr.* 211 *τοί τ' ἀθανάτους φορέουσι* ('that carry the immortals'), of the horses given to Tros, becomes *quique immortales fuerunt*, and in Congreve 'Horses of a deathlesse kind'.

In general, however, Congreve's version is reasonably faithful to the sense of the original. It is elegant and fluent, although more diffuse than the Greek, and very much in the style of this period. The length is 424 verses, as opposed to the original 293. Congreve often adds ornamental epithets where the Greek does not have them, duplicates the sense in the two halves of the line, and expands to fill a couplet. The opening lines illustrate this:

Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης
Κύπριδος, ἥ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὧρσε
καί τ' ἐδαμάσσατο φῦλα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
οἰωνούς τε διιπετέας καὶ θηρία πάντα,
ἠμὲν ὅσ' ἤπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἠδ' ὅσα πόντος· (5)
πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐϋστεφάνου Κυθερείης.

Sing, Muse, the Force, and all-informing Fire
Of *Cyprian Venus*, Goddess of Desire:
Her Charms, th'Immortal Minds of Gods can move
And tame the stubborn Race of Men to Love.
The wilder Herds and ravenous Beasts of Prey, (5)
Her influence feel, and own her kindly Sway.
Thro' pathless Air, and boundless Ocean's Space,
She rules the feather'd Kind and finny Race;
Whole Nature on her sole Support depends,
And far as Life exists, her Care extends.

The central section, describing the union between Venus and Anchises (*h.Aphr.* 155–67), gives a more extensive impression of the strengths and weaknesses of this version:

Ὣς εἰποὼν λάβε χεῖρα· φιλομμειδὴς δ' Ἀφροδίτη (155)
ἔρπε μεταστρεφθεῖσα κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα
ἐς λέχος εὔστρωτον, ὅθι περ πάρος ἔσκεν ἄνακτι
χλαίνῃσιν μαλακῇς ἐστρωμένον· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν
ἄρκτων δέρματ' ἔκειτο βαρυφθόγγων τε λεόντων,

τοὺς αὐτὸς κατέπεφνεν ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν.
οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν λεχέων εὐποιήτων ἐπέβησαν,
κόσμον μέν οἱ πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροὸς εἷλε φαεινόν,
πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἕλικας κάλυκάς τε καὶ ὅρμους.
λῦσε δέ οἱ ζώνην ἰδὲ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα
ἔκδυε καὶ κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου
Ἀγχίσης· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα θεῶν ἰότητι καὶ αἴσῃ
ἀθανάτῃπαρέλεκτο θεᾷ βροτός, οὐ σάφα εἰδώς.

He said, and sudden snatch'd her beauteous Hand;
The Goddess smil'd, nor did th'Attempt withstand:
But fix'd her Eyes upon the Hero's Bed,
Where soft and silken Coverlets were spread,
And over all, a Counterpane was plac'd,
Thick sown with Furs of many a Savage Beast,
Of Bears and Lions, heretofore his Spoil;
And still remain'd the Trophies of his Toil.
Now to ascend the Bed they both prepare,
And he with eager Haste disrobes the Fair.
Her sparkling Necklace, first, he laid aside;
Her bracelets next, and braided Hair unty'd:
And Now, his busie Hand her Zone unbrac'd,
Which girt her radiant Robe around her Waste;
Her radiant Robe at last aside was thrown,
Whose rosie hue with dazzling Lustre shone.
The Queen of Love, the Youth thus disarray'd,
And on a Chair of Gold her Vestments laid.
Anchises now, (so *Jove* and Fate ordain'd)
The sweet Extream of Ecstasy attain'd;
And Mortal he, was like th'Immortals bless'd,
Not conscious of the Goddess he possess'd.

Dr Johnson, in his brief life of Congreve (1781), was less kind than Dryden, writing that 'In all his versions strength and sprightliness are wanting', but he added 'his hymn to Venus, from Homer, is perhaps the best'.[21] His translations are not so well known now, but by a curious chance one short passage has stood the test of time. In the same year as he published his *Hymn to Venus*, the poet also had printed his *Semele. An Opera*.[22] This libretto, based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.251–315), was intended to be performed with

[21] Cf. Lindsay and Erskine-Hill (1989), 270.
[22] Cf. McKenzie (2011), 237–68.

music by John Eccles, but this version failed to reach the stage. Instead, in 1744 a new version, with libretto based largely on Congreve's and with music by Handel, was first performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.[23] The words of Scene 4 of this are an addition to Congreve's original. Just after the famous aria 'Where'er you walk' comes a passage of recitative (no. 46), in which Ino describes her aerial journey to visit her sister Semele, brought by Zephyrs at Jove's command.[24] This quotes verses 170–7 of Congreve's *Hymn to Venus*, with the alteration of 176–7 to fit the new context (ending 'Meantime they told me . . . That Jove did thus ordain.'):

> O'er many States and peopled Towns we pass'd,
> O'er Hills and Valleys, and o'er Desarts waste;
> O'er barren Moors, and o'er unwholesome Fens,
> And Woods where Beasts inhabit dreadful Dens.
> Thro' all which pathless Way our Speed was such,
> We stopt not once the Face of Earth to touch. (175)
> Mean time he told me, while thro' Air we fled,
> That *Jove* ordain'd I should *Anchises* wed . . .

Few of those who enjoy Handel's lovely music can be aware that they are hearing a passage ultimately derived from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

SHELLEY

In his *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Thomas Medwin writes that when the poet was disheartened by the lack of success his original compositions received, 'he thought of dedicating his time to throwing the grey veil of his own words over the perfect and glowing forms of other writers.'[25] Shelley often used translation as a form of therapy when suffering from depression or unable to compose. Reading and translating Greek was for him 'the only sure remedy for diseases of the mind'. After finishing his *Hymn to Mercury* he writes to Maria Gisborne, 'I have been translating the hymns of Homer, for want of

[23] Cf. McKenzie (2011), 607. [24] Cf. McKenzie (2011), 681.
[25] Cf. T. Medwin, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, revised ed. by H. B. Forman (Oxford, 1913), 249.

spirit to invent.'[26] The discipline involved must have had a stabilizing effect, and in addition, these versions could help to ignite his inspiration. One can see this from the way in which echoes of them reappear in his own poetry. For example, the word 'lampless', used ten times in his poems, comes from his *Hymn to the Moon* (verse 7), where it translates ἀλάμπετος.[27]

Shelley was a fluent and skilful translator.[28] He knew Greek well, and was contemptuous of reliance on grammars, lexica, or other scholarly aids. He was acutely aware of the difficulty of reproducing the essence of a poem in another language, which he describes in his *Defence of Poetry* as 'like casting a violet into a crucible'. He insists that 'he must be a great poet, and as great a one as his original, to do justice to him'. In his choice of Greek poetry to interpret he preferred lighter genres to the more demanding ones, such as heroic epic and tragedy. Apart from the *Hymns*, he translated Euripides' *Cyclops*, some epigrams, and short passages of Moschus.

He may have intended to translate all of the *Hymns*. He began in January 1818 with the short ones at the end of the collection, starting with the last, to Castor and Pollux, and working backwards, doing those to the Moon, Sun, Earth, and Athena (*h.Hom.* 33, 32, 31, 30, and 28). He passed over *h.Hom.* 29, to Hestia, writing only the title and crossing it out. After these, he began a draft version of the longer *Hymn to Aphrodite* (*h.Hom.* 5) as far as verse 58, where he broke off. He had already made fair copies of the other five, although the final invocation of 33 is incomplete. Composition was interrupted by an attack of ophthalmia, and then by his move from Marlow, where he was living, to London, in preparation for moving to Italy.[29]

In October 1817 Shelley had requested a copy of the *Hymns* in an edition 'printed distinctly from the Iliad or Odyssey' from his booksellers, and he was billed for this in November. It has been argued that this must have been Gottfried Hermann's edition (Leipzig, 1806).[30] But in some places it looks as if he could have been using a different text. In particular, at *h.Herm.* 552, Hermann conjectured and read *Θριαί*, instead of the vulgate reading *Μοῖραι*. Shelley translates this as

[26] Cf. Donovan et al. (2011), 508.
[27] Cf. Webb (1976), 43–4.
[28] Cf. Webb (1976), 14–50.
[29] Cf. Everest and Matthews (2000), 338–9.
[30] Cf. Webb (1976), 350–1; N. M. Goslee, *The Homeric Hymns and Prometheus Drafts Notebook: Bodleian MS Shelley Adds. E.12* (New York, 1996), xvii, liv–lvi.

'fates' (*Mercury* 741). Another possibility would be the edition of August Matthiae (Leipzig, 1805), whose readings generally fit well with his version.

There is little sign, if any, of Chapman's influence in these six versions. Everest and Matthews detect possible echoes in *To the Sun* (lines 4 and 17), but these may be due to coincidence.[31]

The hymns to cosmic powers were particularly attractive to Shelley, who looked back to 'the graceful religion of the Greeks' after his rejection of Christianity. It was just after he made these versions that he began work on his *Prometheus Unbound*, and it seems likely that he chose these particular poems in part at least because he was already beginning to meditate on some of the themes of this cosmic drama, which includes the characters of the Earth (and Spirit of the Earth) and the Moon.

These versions are quite close to the originals, and capture their spirit well. *To the Earth, Mother of All* is especially effective:

Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν ἀείσομαι ἠϋθέμεθλον (1)
πρεσβίστην, ἣ φέρβει ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάνθ' ὁπόσ' ἐστίν·
ἠμὲν ὅσα χθόνα δῖαν ἐπέρχεται ἠδ' ὅσα πόντον
ἠδ' ὅσα πωτῶνται, τάδε φέρβεται ἐκ σέθεν ἄλβου.
ἐκ σέο δ' εὔπαιδές τε καὶ εὔκαρποι τελέθουσι (5)
πότνια, σεῦ δ' ἔχεται δοῦναι βίον ἠδ' ἀφελέσθαι
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν· ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὅν κε σὺ θυμῷ
πρόφρων τιμήσῃς· τῷ τ' ἄφθονα πάντα πάρεστι.
βρίθει μέν σφιν ἄρουρα φερέσβιος, ἠδὲ κατ' ἀγροὺς
κτήνεσιν εὐθηνεῖ, οἶκος δ' ἐμπίπλαται ἐσθλῶν· (10)
αὐτοὶ δ' εὐνομίῃσι πόλιν κάτα καλλιγύναικα
κοιρανέουσ', ὄλβος δὲ πολὺς καὶ πλοῦτος ὀπηδεῖ·
παῖδες δ' εὐφροσύνῃ νεοθηλέϊ κυδιόωσι,
παρθενικαί τε χοροῖς φερεσανθέσιν εὔφρονι θυμῷ
παίζουσαι σκαίρουσι κατ' ἄνθεα μαλθακὰ ποίης, (15)
οὕς κε σὺ τιμήσῃς σεμνὴ θεὰ ἄφθονε δαῖμον.
Χαῖρε θεῶν μήτηρ, ἄλοχ' Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
πρόφρων δ' ἀντ' ὠδῆς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὄπαζε·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

O universal Mother, who dost keep
From everlasting thy foundations deep,
Eldest of things, great Earth, I sing of thee.

[31] Cf. Everest and Matthews (2000), 341–2.

All shapes that have their dwelling in the Sea,
All things that fly, or on the ground divine
Live, move, and there are nourished—these are thine,
These from thy wealth thou dost sustain—from thee
Fair babes are born, and fruits on every tree
Hang ripe and large, revered Divinity.
The life of mortal men beneath thy sway
Is held: thy power both gives and takes away.
Happy are they whom thy mild favours nourish,
All things unstinted round them grow and flourish;
For such, endures the life-sustaining field
Its load of harvest, and their cattle yield
Large increase, and their house with wealth is filled.
Such honoured dwell in cities fair and free,
The homes of lovely women, prosperously;
Their sons exult in youth's new budding gladness,
And their fresh daughters free from care or sadness
With bloom-inwoven dance and happy song
On the soft flowers the meadow grass among
Leap round them sporting—such delights by thee
Are given, rich Power, revered Divinity!
Mother of Gods, thou wife of starry Heaven,
Farewell! be thou propitious, and be given
A happy life for this brief melody.
Nor thou nor other songs shall unremembered be.

The *Hymn to Mercury* was composed by Shelley between the end of June and 19 July 1820, at the Gisbornes' house in Leghorn. The speed with which he wrote it is remarkable. It has ninety-seven stanzas and 772 verses, compared to the 580 of the original. As he wrote to Peacock, 'of course my stanza precludes a literal translation. My next effort will be that it should be legible—a quality much to be desired in translations.' By 'legible' he meant readable. There is no doubt that he succeeded in this aim. The poem has been described as 'one of the most accomplished of all English translations from Greek'.[32]

Shelley described the hymn to Maria Gisborne as 'infinitely comical', and his preference for this, rather than one of the other long *Hymns*, must have been partly to cheer his spirits. He must also have been attracted to the character of the infant god of music. He felt an

[32] Cf. Donovan et al. (2011), 508–10.

affinity with tricky spirits like Ariel or Cupid, and Leigh Hunt said of him that he 'came from the planet Mercury'. Moreover, his own son Percy Florence was eight months old when he composed his poem, and this may have contributed to his interest in the subject.[33]

The translation is free, with much expansion, and the style is often romantic. There are echoes of Spenser and Milton, but the witty way in which he uses the metrical format also suggests comparison with Byron, whose *Don Juan* and *Beppo* are in *ottava rima*.[34]

Stanza 10 (72–9) is a good illustration:

> ἀμφὶ Δία Κρονίδην καὶ Μαιάδα καλλιπέδιλον
> ὡς πάρος ὠρίζεσκον ἑταιρείῃ φιλότητι,
> ἧν τ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενεὴν ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομάζων·
> ἀμφιπόλους τε γέραιρε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δώματα νύμφης, (60)
> καὶ τρίποδας κατὰ οἶκον ἐπηετανούς τε λέβητας.
> καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν ἤειδε, τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα. (*h.Herm.* 57–62)
>
> He sung how Jove and May of the bright sandal
> Dallied in love not quite legitimate;
> And his own birth, still scoffing at the scandal
> And naming his own name, did celebrate; (75)
> His mother's cave and servant maids he planned all
> In plastic verse, her household stuff and state,
> Perennial pot, trippet and brazen pan—
> But singing he conceived another plan.

Here 'not quite legitimate' is an addition to the Greek, as is 'still scoffing at the scandal'. These must be chosen for the ingenious rhymes, as also in 'planned all'. In 76–8 the epic language of the original—

> ἀμφιπόλους τε γέραιρε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δώματα νύμφης,
> καὶ τρίποδας κατὰ οἶκον ἐπηετανούς τε λέβητας. (60–1)

is metamorphosed into something more everyday, especially in 78, with its pot and pan, and 'trippet' for τρίποδας (an archaic and dialect form of 'trivet', meaning a three-legged vessel or stool). Clever half-rhymes also add to the light-hearted effect, as in 87–91 'Ocean's *bed has* . . . clothed in *shadows* . . . unmown *meadows*'. Much of the

[33] Cf. Webb (1976), 70–1. [34] Cf. Webb (1976), 116–22, 126–30.

attraction of his version comes from the way Shelley manipulates the rhyme-scheme to fit the sense of the original.

Although Shelley possessed Chapman's version, it is hard to detect echoes of this in his *Mercury*. Some have been suggested, but these could well be coincidental.[35] Shelley seems rather to have started from scratch. Possible use of a Latin version has been suggested, for example in verse 21 'venerable May', for *πότνια Μαῖα* (*h.Herm.* 19), where Dartona's Latin has *veneranda Maia*, and 253 'unanimous as men', for *ἠΰτε φῶτες ὁμόφρονες* (*h. Herm.* 195), with the Latin *tamquam homines unanimes.* But again these could be coincidental.[36]

In terms of affinities with Shelley's other poetry and prose, there are particular links between the passages about music and song in his *Mercury* and the *Ode to a Skylark*, composed just before the translation, and also with passages in the *Defence of Poetry*, written seven months later.[37] A month after *Mercury* he wrote *The Witch of Atlas* in *ottava rima*, and this has been called 'a sort of Homeric hymn, of Shelleyan spirituality, subtlety, and colour'.[38] Later, *With a Guitar, to Jane* is also closely related to *Mercury*, especially the passage in the *Hymn* where the god tells Apollo about how to use the lyre (637–60). In *With a Guitar, to Jane* the spirit Ariel plays the role taken by Mercury (58–61, 79–86).[39]

A good example of Shelley's skill is Apollo's speech in praise of Hermes' music (*Mercury* 581–612), which can be compared with Chapman's translation quoted above:

> These words were winged with his swift delight—
> 'You heifer-killing schemer, well do you
> Deserve that fifty oxen should requite
> Such minstrelsies as I have heard even now.—
> Comrade of feasts—little contriving Wight, (585)
> One of your secrets I would gladly know,
> Whether the glorious power you now show forth
> Was folded up within you at your birth,

[35] For possible echoes cf. Webb (1976), 139.
[36] Cf. Donovan et al. (2011), 510.
[37] Cf. Donovan et al. (2011), 469; Webb (1976), 108–16.
[38] Cf. D. Bush, *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1937), 140. See also Webb (1976), 77–9.
[39] Cf. Webb (1976), 73–4.

'Or whether mortal taught or God inspired
  Thy power of unpremeditated song—
Many divinest sounds have I admired,
  The Olympian Gods and mortal men among,
But such a strain of wondrous, strange, untired
  And soul-awakening music sweet and strong
Yet did I never hear except from thee,
Offspring of May, impostor Mercury!

'What Muse, what skill, what unimagined use,
  What exercise of subtlest art has given
Thy songs such power? for those who hear may choose
  From three, the choicest of the gifts of Heaven—
Delight, and love, and sleep—sweet sleep, whose dews
  Are sweeter than the balmy tears of even—
And I, who speak this praise, am that Apollo
Whom the Olympian Muses ever follow:

'And their delight is dance and the blithe noise
  Of song and overflowing poesy—
And sweet even as desire the liquid voice
  Of pipes that fills the clear air thrillingly,
But never did my inmost soul rejoice
  In this dear work of youthful revelry
As now. I wonder at thee, son of Jove—
Thy harpings and thy song are soft as love.'

CONCLUSION

For Chapman there was no question that Homer was still the same incomparable 'Master of the Muses' in the *Hymns* as in his epics. In the preface to his *Crowne* he describes him as turning to the honour of the Gods, after he had completed his two great poems, and so 'whatsoever autentique Poesie he omitted in the Episods contained in the Iliads and Odysses, he comprehends and concludes in his Hymnes and Epigrams'. Faulty though Chapman's translation may be, it stands as a testimony to his continuing admiration for the poet.

Congreve also expresses the great pleasure he took in reading the *Hymns*, and accepts them as the work of Homer. If his version of the *Hymn to Venus* was an early work, he nevertheless thought it worthwhile to publish it later, when his critical judgement had matured.

Shelley would surely have echoed the view of his friend Jefferson Hogg, quoted at the outset of this essay. He admired the *Hymn to Mercury* as 'infinitely comical', and his version is itself a brilliant achievement. He also gained inspiration from translating these hymns, as he did from reading more major Greek works.

Thus the power of the *Homeric Hymns* to inspire later poets of different periods is well illustrated by these attempts which they made to present them in English dress.

18

The Reception of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in Romantic Heidelberg

J. H. Voss and 'the Eleusinian Document'

Andreas Schwab

> Der bloße Wortgrübler ist höchstens ein ehrsamer Tempelküster, der das Zugängliche putzt und aufschließt; der sprachkundige Sacherklärer führt wie ein Priester in das Heiligtum.
>
> Voss, *Vorrede* IX[1]
>
> Those quibblers are nothing more than honourable temple clerks polishing and opening up what is commonly accessible; however those who explain the objects and are linguists in the bargain lead us like priests into the sanctuary.

INTRODUCTION

When Johann Heinrich Voss (1751–1826) wrote these programmatic words in 1816—later published as part of the preface to his German translation and commentary on the newly discovered *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*—he was probably aware of the fact that he was part of an

[1] This quotation is part of the programmatic article of J. H. Voss which was at first published in 1816 in the *Morgenblatt*, No. 144, and also later used as the *Vorrede* of his German translation and commentary, J. H. Voss, *Hymne an Demeter* (Heidelberg, 1826b).

important stage in the exceptional history of the reception and impact of this *Homeric Hymn.*[2] There are at least two main reasons why the text of this particular hymn had such an extraordinary and vivid reception around 1800. First, its rather late rediscovery in a medieval manuscript in Moscow in 1777—the *Codex Mosquensis* (M)[3]—by Christian Friedrich Matthaei certainly played a significant role.[4] The discovery of the manuscript, that is now in Leiden,[5] was followed by a first edition by David Ruhnken in 1780.[6] The immensely productive scholarly interest in the *Hymn to Demeter* after the discovery of the manuscript and its first edition is manifested in the several editions, commentaries, and translations, for example, the Latin translation by the German scholar J. H. Voss which accompanied the first complete edition by Ruhnken in 1782, and the scholarly editions and interpretations by C. G. Mitscherlich (1787), C. D. Ilgen (1796), A. Matthiae (1800 and 1805), G. Hermann (1806), and C. W. F. A. Wolf (1807).[7] This amazing scholarly attention was furthermore not only due to the importance of the text as 'a fine example of post-Homeric epic poetry',[8] one that stands out in the collection of the *Homeric Hymns* and raises interesting philological and literary questions, but also particularly due to its subject. The rich history of scholarship on ancient Greek religion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries illustrates well that the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* was and still is one of the most valuable documents for the reconstruction of ancient Greek religion, and notably 'the earliest literary

[2] For the influence of the *Hymn to Demeter* on later literature and for quotations, see N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 67–73.

[3] For this manuscript and the collection of the *Homeric Hymns*, see T. Gelzer, 'Zum *Codex Mosquensis* und zur Sammlung der *Homerischen Hymnen*', *Hyperboreus* 1 (1994), 113–36.

[4] For the history of the discovery of the manuscript, see O. V. Gebhardt, 'Christian Friedrich Matthaei und seine Sammlung griechischer Handschriften', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 15 (1898), 441–8 and Gelzer (1994), 114–15.

[5] 'Mosquensis' (M) = Leidensis BPG 33H. For the history and transmission of this manuscript in Byzantium, see also Chapter 13 in this volume, subsection on Leidensis BPG 33 H, pp. 252–60.

[6] This first edition of Ruhnken was defective, because it omitted twenty-one lines of the *Hymn*. It was withdrawn when the error was discovered; cf. Richardson (1974), 86; Voss (1826b), VII–VIII; and Gelzer (1994), 114–16.

[7] For a list and bibliography of the more noteworthy editions and some translations of the hymn, see Richardson (1974), 86–8. Gelzer (1994), 114–15, illustrates well that the first critical edition by Ruhnken was not only a philological achievement, but also a much-anticipated literary sensation.

[8] Richardson (1974), Preface VII.

work which sheds light on the Eleusinian Mysteries'.[9] Both these reasons are certainly sufficient to legitimize a study in the history of the reception of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. However, given the broadness of the subject, it is reasonable to limit the focus of our study. Thus I have chosen to enquire how one individual scholar 'received' the *Homeric Hymn* in his time, that is how he approached the text of the *Hymn*, and tried to understand and to comment on it in Heidelberg, one of the centres of the German Romantic movement.[10] Reading the programmatic preface and the commentary of Voss on the *Hymn to Demeter*, we not only gain access to the perspective and interpretation of one scholar involved in this significant era of the rediscovery of the *Hymn* from its very beginning, who took part in its reception as the first Latin translator, as one of the first German translators, and particularly as a commentator; we will also get more acquainted with one surprising reading of this *Hymn* by the German scholar, poet, and distinguished translator of Homer that was Johann Heinrich Voss.[11] After (1) a short introduction to Voss and the newly discovered *Hymn*, I will then focus (2) on the main topics of the preface (*Vorrede*) and (3) on his commentary.

VOSS AND THE NEWLY DISCOVERED *HYMN*

Why Voss? There are a number of reasons. Voss was not only responsible for the first Latin translation of the *Hymn*, he was also

[9] Richardson (1974), Preface VII. For some main approaches to the *Hymn* and the Eleusinian Mysteries, see Richardson (1974), 12–30, in particular 30 n. 1; about orphic poetry and Eleusis with further literature, see F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1974), 1–8.

[10] For the Romantic(s) in Heidelberg, see A. Schlechter, *Die Romantik in Heidelberg. Brentano, Arnim und Görres am Neckar* (Heidelberg, 2007).

[11] For the life and work of Voss, see the collective volume with different approaches by A. Rudolph (ed.), *Johann Heinrich Voß. Kulturräume in Dichtung und Wirkung* (Dettelbach, 1999) and K. Langenfeld, *Johann Heinrich Voß. Mensch—Dichter—Übersetzer* (Eutin, 1990). For an illuminating approach to Voss in the complex discourse on religion of his own time, see G. Riedl, 'Die Waffen des Lichts. Reflexe zeitgenössischen Religionsdiskurses bei Johann Heinrich Voß', in A. Rudolph (ed.), *Johann Heinrich Voß. Kulturräume in Dichtung und Wirkung* (Dettelbach, 1999), 91–111.

one of the first to prepare a German translation of the text[12] and also wrote the first commentary on the *Hymn* in German which accompanied his German translation, published in 1826, the year of his death. Furthermore, concerning the history of ideas, Voss is well known for his anti-Romantic polemics as a 'rationalist' and as one of the most prominent scholars who took part in the polemical debate[13] about Friedrich Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*,[14] a debate which was probably one of the most significant scientific disputes that defined the development of classical studies in Germany during the first decades of the nineteenth century and deeply influenced the discipline's future.[15] Creuzer's *Symbolik* provoked a harsh reaction from his Heidelberg colleague Voss, and the debate resonated not only within the narrow field of specialists, but with a much wider circle of scholars and intellectuals.

It is not by chance that this polemical debate about Creuzer's four-volume *Symbolik* (1810–12) represents one of the proximate, but also wider intellectual contexts in which the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* stimulated reactions and received a lot of attention among some German scholars such as Gottfried Hermann (Leipzig), Friedrich Creuzer (from 1804, ordinary professor),[16] and Voss (from 1805, 'sinecure professor') at the University of Heidelberg. In consequence, focusing on the 'reception' of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in

[12] The first German translation by Christian Graf zu Stolberg was already published in the November edition of the 'Deutsches Museum' in 1780.

[13] These polemical writings of Voss are collected in two volumes with the fitting title *Antisymbolik* published in 1824 and 1826.

[14] See F. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* (1810–12).

[15] G. W. Most, 'Hermann gegen Creuzer über die Mythologie', in K. Sier and E. Wöckener-Gade (eds), *Gottfried Hermann 1772–1848* (Tübingen, 2010), 166–79, 165. On the debate about Creuzer's *Symbolik*, see E. Howald, *Der Kampf um Creuzers Symbolik. Eine Auswahl von Dokumenten* (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York, 1926, repr. 1984), who presents a selection of documents, and for a particular focus on Lobeck and Preller, see G. W. Most, 'One Hundred Years of Fractiousness: Disciplining Polemics in Nineteenth-Century German Classical Scholarship', *TAPhA* 127 (1997), 350–3.

[16] For Creuzer and the philology and mythology in the age of Romanticism, see the informative volume by F. Engehausen, A. Schlechter, and J. P. Schwindt, *Friedrich Creuzer 1771–1858. Philologie und Mythologie im Zeitalter der Romantik* (Heidelberg, 2008).

Romantic Heidelberg[17] means again another selection: being particularly interested in the way Voss approached the newly discovered *Hymn*, I will only rarely refer to his colleague and antipode in Heidelberg who is—as we will see—although rather absent in name, nevertheless present in his ideas and Voss's response. During the long time period Voss was 'in contact' with the *Hymn*, beginning shortly after the rediscovery of the manuscript in Moscow, we may distinguish three main contributions: first his early Latin translation, published with the edition by Ruhnken in 1781; then a short and programmatic essay on the *Hymn* from 1816 published in the *Morgenblatt* which served later as the preface (*Vorrede*) of his own 1826 translation; and finally his German translation and commentary (152 pages of 'Erläuterungen') published in 1826, the year of his death. In my approach I will pay special attention to the programmatic *Vorrede* and his commentary because these documents illustrate well how certain aspects, problems, questions, and ideas arose from the *Hymn* and so became part of the history of its interpretation, reception, and impact.

MAIN SUBJECTS OF THE PREFACE

At first I will consider some of Voss's remarks on the rediscovery of the *Hymn*. Then, I will focus on his main concerns outlined in his Preface (*Vorrede*) in relation to the newly discovered *Hymn*.[18]

On Previous Scholars and the Role of the Commentator

In order to understand better the context in which the *Homeric Hymn* was rediscovered, it is necessary to consider how Voss sketches

[17] For the protagonists and the context of Romanticism in Heidelberg, see Schlechter (2007).

[18] The Preface was originally published on 15 June 1816 as an article in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, a cultural journal 'for the educated class'. The original version of the *Vorrede* contained one section more than the *Vorrede* published in 1826. The passage which is excluded in the 1826 publication concerns an (unnecessary) implicit critique of Wolf on Homer which has not much to do with the *Hymn*.

certain steps in the history of editions after the discovery of the text and its *editio princeps* by Ruhnken in 1780, and how he himself became part of this history. This was the case from the early beginning through his comments sent to Ruhnken and particularly through his Latin translation in Ruhnken's second edition.[19] According to Voss, the principal purpose of Ruhnken's *editio princeps* was to correct the corruptions and to explain the language with regard to Homer and Hesiod. Voss also underlines his own role after the original publication in 1780 when Ruhnken received proposals for improvements of the too rash publication ('den übereilten Abdruck', according to Voss)[20] in 1780 from friends such as Valckenaer, Wyttenbach, and Fontein, and also those from Voss himself.[21] It is noteworthy that shortly after the famous discovery of the manuscript by Matthaei in Moscow a good friend of Voss, the count Christian Stolberg, provided him with a copy of the hymn.[22] This might explain the surprising fact that Voss, having been asked by Ruhnken for proposals concerning the whole poem and a Latin translation in August 1780, had already sent Ruhnken his Latin translation in October 1780.

The stages of early scholarship on the hymn after the discovery of the *Codex Mosquensis* (= M) are summarized in the following outline:[23]

1777–8	Matthaei sends transcripts of M to Ruhnken
1778 June	Announcement of the discovery of M by Matthaei in the *Bibliotheca Critica*
1779	Matthaei sends a transcription of M to Stolberg
1780 Spring	Edition by Ruhnken (with commentary, lacking twenty-one verses; withdrawn shortly after)
1780 August	Letter by Voss to Ruhnken with comments and complete transcription of M

[19] Voss (1826b), VII–VIII. For a balanced account on the history around the discovery of the *Codex Mosquensis* and its first editions, see Gelzer (1994), 113–20.

[20] Particularly concerning the *lacunae* after v. 198 (= Voss) and v. 393ff. now 414 (= Voss).

[21] See Voss (1826b), VII–VIII.

[22] Stolberg who was still a good friend of Voss at this time published his German translation of the *Hymn* in November 1780 in the *Deutsches Museum* with a short preface.

[23] According to Gelzer (1994), 114–20, who analyses the sources and deals with further bibliography.

1780 August	Response of Ruhnken to Voss (asking for comments and Latin translation)
1780 October	Letter by Voss to Ruhnken (with a Latin translation and comments)
1780 November	German translation of the complete text by Stolberg[24]
1781 Summer	First complete edition by Ruhnken with Latin translation by Voss
1782 December	Second complete edition by Ruhnken (with two *epistolae criticae*)

Voss finally focuses on the use of Homeric words and the (Attic and Ionic) language of the poem in general.[25] Concluding his remarks about the language and the metre of the hymn, Voss emphasizes greatly that a precise understanding of the old poem and a reconstruction of the original meaning also require deep knowledge of the treated objects ('Dinge').[26] He expresses this by means of a significant comparison and analogy:

> Those quibblers are nothing more than honourable temple clerks polishing and opening up what is commonly accessible; however those who explain the objects and are linguists in the bargain lead us like priests into the sanctuary.[27]

In this significant portrayal of the commentator as one 'who explains the objects' and is 'a linguist in the bargain', Voss also reveals how he sees himself in his project of translating and commenting on the

[24] *Deutsches Museum* (1780), vol. II, part 11; November, 385: 'Ausser der sehr guten Ausgabe des berühmten Ruhnken, dessen Anmerkungen so lehrreich, und dessen Vermutungen so scharfsinnig sind, habe ich zu meiner Uebersetzung eine Abschrift gebraucht, die ich der freundschaftlichen Güte des Herrn. Prof. Christian Friedrich Matthäi in Moskow zu verdanken habe für welche ich ihm, ohne dessen edle Bemühungen dieses Gedicht ewig in dem moskowitischen Kloster vergraben geblieben wäre, auch an diesem Orte meine ganze Dankbarkeit, und zwar um so viel lebhafter, bezeuge, da die mir von ihm zugesandte Handschrift, wie ich zeigen werde, vollständiger, als die Leidener Ausgabe ist.' On v. 199 Stolberg comments in 'Homers Hümnus and Dämätär', *Deutsches Museum* (1780), part 11, November, n. 392: 'Dieser und die 20 folgenden Verse meines Textes fehlen in Ruhnkens Ausgabe, daher seine Anmerk. zu v. 199.'

[25] See Voss (1826b), VIII–IX.

[26] See Voss (1826b), IX: 'Ob ein altes Gedicht gründlich zu verstehen, und den ursprünglichen Verstand herzustellen, auch Kenntnis der behandelten Dinge nothwendig sei, kann kaum ein Pedant bezweifeln.'

[27] Voss (1826b), IX.

Hymn to Demeter. For this purpose he applies an illuminating analogy: the figure of a priest who guides a worshipper into the sanctuary and knows much more than the sacristan who gives superficial information.

Dionysus and Homer from Egypt or India?

The first topic that Voss emphasizes in the beginning of his *Vorrede* does not concern the *Hymn to Demeter* in particular, but the relationship of Dionysus and Homer with India as well as the broader issue—obviously a debate in his time—that 'mystical religion' came from India long before Homer ('aus Indien sei lange vor Homer mystische Religion gekommen', V).[28] The question of the time and origin of 'mystical religion' in Greece thus is one main concern of Voss's preface, but as he admits, a more profound study would be required in order to show when and where mystical religion originates. Voss will come back to this controversy about a possible 'mysticism-before-Homer-(from-India)' thesis again. One may wonder why Voss begins his preface with this issue. That this more general question of the 'Oriental' wisdom and influence on Greek culture was in fact a subject of debate is also obvious from the published correspondence of Friedrich Creuzer and Gottfried Hermann on 'Homer and Hesiod, primarily on the Theogony' ('*Briefe über Homer und Hesiodus vorzüglich über die Theogonie*').[29] The correspondence of these two scholars also focused on the question of the origin of early Greek religion and its relation to and dependency on the Orient; its starting point was the difficult verses 265–7 of *the Hymn to Demeter*, that is the reference to 'the *Βαλλητύς*, a ritual mock battle held in honour of Demophon'[30]. Creuzer argued at first that these lines

[28] On Görres' ideas in his *Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt* (Heidelberg, 1810) as part of the earlier romantic perception of India as the cradle of religion, see B. Feldmann and R. D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology 1680–1860* (Bloomington, IN, 1972), 381–6; for the *Symbolik* of Creuzer and his argument that Greek religion derived from India, *ibid.*, 387–96. See also the reactions of Voss in his *Antisymbolik* I (1824), 'Erstes Stück, Trugbild des thebischen Dionysos', 54–79, 'Der indische Afterdionysos', 79–88, and 'Kalkuttischer Dionysosspuk', 88ff.

[29] See the valuable reprint of the edition (1996), which was originally published by Creuzer in 1818.

[30] Richardson (1974), 245. For the textual problem and various approaches, see Voss (1826b) *ad loc.*; Richardson (1974) *ad loc.*; and Most (2010), 167–9.

should be read and interpreted not literally, but symbolically.[31] Before moving back to the argument of Voss, I would like to quote some lines from Creuzer's *Vorrede* to his correspondence with Hermann, since the introduction of his *Vorrede* illustrates well the significance of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* to the scholarly world and the exceptional attention scholars paid to this rediscovered document with regard to ancient Greek religion:

> While studying the secret doctrine of Athens in the fourth volume of the *Symbolik*, I had been obliged—and rightly so—to also consider the Homeric Hymn to Ceres, which has now been declared to be of great age and importance by almost all scholars. It was in here I believed to have found reasons for raising doubts concerning the methods used by several editors of this chant and concerning the kind of idea underlying these methods, followed by firm protest. This had happened—among other passages—especially with regards to the verses 265–267 (cf. *Symbolik* 282 ff.), where I had to part way with Hermann in particular, even though I had usually tended to agree with his theory and practice the most. For that very reason, however, and because of the great weight that this ancient monument of Attic religions undoubtedly has on a scale of rational critique, I felt the need to hear this famous critic's opinion on my doubts, thoughts, and ideas.[32]

[31] Richardson (1974), 246 notes that the πόλεμος referred to was a ceremonial one and that this was at first recognized by Creuzer in his *Symbolik* (1843), 3rd edn, vol. 4, 314ff. On Creuzer's understanding of these verses, Most (2010), 168–9 comments: 'Bekanntlich witterte Creuzer Symbole und Mysterien überall, und so überrascht es nicht, dass er als erster überhaupt diese schwierige Stelle anders auffasste—nicht buchstäblich, sondern metaphorisch, als einen Hinweis nicht auf wirkliche Kriege, sondern auf jährlich stattfindende, in Kultfesten ausgeführte rituelle agonale Handlungen. [. . .] Creuzers Interpretation ließ mit einem Schlag alle Schwierigkeiten dieser Textstelle verschwinden und markierte zweifellos einen entscheidenen Fortschritt in deren Verständnis—ja im nachhinein kann man kaum glauben, dass große Gräzisten vom Rang eines Ruhnken oder eines Hermann einen so elementaren Denkfehler dabei begingen.'

[32] The *Vorrede* to the edition of the correspondence of F. Creuzer and G. Hermann, '*Briefe über Homer und Hesiodus vorzüglich über die Theogonie*', in H. Menges (ed.), *Schriften zum Symbolikstreit* (Karben, 1996, repr. of 1818 edn), III–IV: 'Bey den Untersuchungen über die Atheniensische Geheimlehre im vierten Bande der Symbolik hatte ich, wie billig, auch auf den jetzt von fast allen Gelehrten für sehr alt und sehr wichtig erklärten Homerischen Hymnus auf die Ceres mein Augenmerk richten müssen. Hier glaubte ich nun Gründe gefunden zu haben, gegen das Verfahren mehrerer Herausgeber dieses Gesangs und gegen die diesem Verfahren zu Grunde liegende Vorstellungsart bald Zweifel zu erheben, bald bestimmtern Einspruch zu thun. Dies war unter andern auch namentlich in Betreff der Verse 265–267 geschehen

With Creuzer's (another Heidelbergan's) appraisal of the *Hymn* in mind, we will come back to the *Vorrede* of Voss. Voss mentions some *scholia* to Homer which would show that 'the Dionysos of the mystics' ('der Dionysos der Mystiker', VI) has his origin in a post-Hesiodic time (VI). Then, in an elaborate rhetorical passage he gives a sketch of the development of Greek mysticism against which Voss argues more polemically than strongly:

> It is possible, we hear, that long before Homer, some kind of wisdom came from India or Egypt that persisted through gloomier ages until the only thing left of Egypt was a dark rumour and even the name of India had disappeared. It is possible that Homer did not—as it seems to others—refine the Pelasgian's crude gods according to the more dignified ideas of different times, as far as he was permitted to do so, but rather reduced the noble gods of a highly intellectual people to demons of heroic force, by the means of innocent wit or rather wickedly, and attributed ghostly shadows to the alleged retaliation after death. It is therefore possible that, after Egypt had again become accessible and India had been rediscovered, the dwindling secret wisdom was invigorated by fresh inflows from the original source, so that from that point onwards, the secrets' existence no longer remained a secret. Everything is possible to the desiring phantasy, and so—sure![33]

Voss describes one development with three stages: (a) the arrival of wisdom from India and Egypt in Greece long before Homer; (b) the persistence of this wisdom for a long time, until India and Egypt were

(s. S. 282 sgg.). Dort mußte ich mich insbesondere von Hermann trennen, mit dessen Theorie und Praxis ich mich sonst noch am besten vertragen konnte. Eben deswegen aber und wegen des großen Gewichts, das jenes alte Denkmal Attischer Religionen auf der Waagschaale einer vernünftigen Kritik ganz unzweifelhaft hat, mußte mir sehr viel daran gelegen sein, nun auch zu erfahren, was dieser berühmte Kritiker zu meinen Zweifeln, Gedanken und Einfällen sagte.'

[33] Voss (1826b), VI–VII: 'Möglich doch ist, hören wir, daß lange vor Homer Weisheit aus Indien oder aus Ägypten kam, die durch trübere Zeitalter geheim fortdauerte, bis von Ägypten nur dunkles Gerücht, von Indien nicht der Name einmal nachblieb. Möglich, daß Homer nicht, wie es anderen scheint, rohe Götter des Pelasgers, so weit er durfte, nach würdigeren Zeitbegriffen veredelte, vielmehr eines geistigen Volks erhabene Gottheiten zu Dämonen heroischer Gewalt, mit unschuldigem Wiz oder frevlerisch, herabsezte, und den geglaubten Vergeltungen nach dem Tode ein gespenstisches Schattengewühl unterschob. Möglich, daß hierauf, da Ägypten wieder zugänglich und Indien neu entdeckt ward, die versiegende Geheimweisheit frische Zuflüsse aus den Urquellen erhielt, und seitdem der Geheimnisse Dasein nicht mehr ein Geheimnis war. Alles möglich der wünschenden Einbildung, und folglich — gewiß!'

basically forgotten;[34] the time, when Homer changed these old Eastern doctrines into something much rougher and less sophisticated;[35] (c) the new influx of Eastern ideas mainly after Alexander, so that from that time onwards, 'the secret's existence no longer remained a secret'. Against this outline, which is not further explained, Voss comments ironically and polemically: 'Alles möglich der wünschenden Einbildung, und folglich—gewiß!', that is, 'everything is possible to the desiring phantasy, and so—sure!' Then, as a direct response, he explains his own position as follows (VII):

> To those who are capable of assessing the evidence on the transformations of the Greek doctrine of gods with calm prudence according to age and relatedness by following the path of history—the only one leading the genuine researcher to truth and probability—the pre-Hesiodic Mysticism in Greece and particularly the pre-Homeric one will seem ridiculous.[36]

[34] Here Voss vaguely alludes to the ideas of Creuzer and Görres. In her study on the concept and the role of the Orient in the work of Creuzer in comparison to Görres, E. Kocziszky, "*Χαλεπὰ τὰ καλά*": Das Konzept und die Rolle des Orients in Creuzers Werk im Vergleich zu Görres', in F. Strack (ed.), *200 Jahre Heidelberger Romantik. Deutscher Idealismus. Philosophie und Wirkungsgeschichte in Quellen und Studien*, Vol. 12 (Berlin and Heidelberg, 2008), 309–10, emphasizes the differences between the two scholars, pointing out: 'Creuzers orientalische Topographie lässt sich aus seinen Untersuchungen zum Dionysoskult herleiten. Die Untersuchungen zu den Quellen des Dionysoskultes haben ihn über Ägypten bis nach Indien geführt, sein zwiespältiges Verhältnis zu Indien kommt aber in manchen Passagen des Werkes klar zum Vorschein. Er stand ganz befremdet vor der polytheistischen Vielgötterei der Inder. [. . .] Das Studium indischer Mythologie—die er in erster Linie durch Görres vermittelt unternahm—konnte also Creuzer nicht in die hohe Begeisterung für Indien versetzen, die damals auch in Heidelberg Mode war. [. . .] Wir müssen folglich eine Korrektur an der gängigen Auffassung der Forschungsliteratur vornehmen und Creuzers Indomanie in Frage stellen.' On Creuzer's interest in Ancient Egyptian religion, Kocziszky (2008), 313, comments: 'In der Schilderung der ägyptischen Religiosität entdeckt Creuzer zahlreiche Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen den ägyptischen "pantheistischen" Mysterien des Osiris und dem orphischen Kult des Dionysos, der "die Gluth einer anderen Sonne" zurückstrahlt als der Thebaner Dionysos, sowie zwischen dem Isiskult der Ägypter und der Großen Mutter Kybele-Artemis der kleinasiatischen Griechen.' With regard to Orphism, W. Burkert, *Die Griechen und der Orient. Von Homer bis zu den Magiern* (Munich, 2003), 82, notes: 'Seit dem Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde die Orphik zum Kampffeld zwischen Rationalisten und Romantikern unter den Philologen. Im Hintergrund stand dabei die Frage, wie "klassisch" das klassische Griechenland eigentlich gewesen sei und ob es eine ernst zu nehmende griechische Religion überhaupt gegeben habe.'

[35] This argument seems to contradict Herodotus' take on Homer and the Pelasgians, see *Hist.* 2.50–3.

[36] Voss (1826b), VII: 'Wer auf geschichtlichem Wege, dem einzigen, der den aufrichtigen Forscher zu Wahrheit oder Wahrscheinlichkeit führt, die Zeugnisse für die Umwandlungen der griechischen Götterlehre mit gleichmütiger Umsicht nach

Voss characterizes (t)his approach exclusively as the only way in which the genuine researcher will achieve the probable truth, that is by an 'even-tempered' analysis of the texts (for the transformation of the Greek doctrine of the gods) in the framework of their age and context ('Verhalt').[37] According to this method Voss claims—against those 'fantastische Ursinnbildner', that is those 'fabulous primordial-sense-makers'—that a pre-Hesiodic and also a pre-Homeric mysticism in Greece seems completely ridiculous. Finally, he emphasizes that the interpretation of the Eleusinian document ('die Deutung der eleusinischen Urkunde') is difficult ('schwierig') due to its profound content, and that the access to the profound content is made even more difficult by the language of the text and the state of the manuscript.[38] While this first subject, probably due to the 'mystical' and religious content of the *Hymn* and its relation to Homer, is a central but also more general issue around 1800, the second topic of the preface is more directly related to the *Homeric Hymn* (die 'homeridische Hymne', V–VI) and its understanding by Voss.

The *Hymn* as 'the oldest memorial of holy bonds'

Voss characterizes the *Hymn to Demeter* as 'the oldest memorial of holy bonds' ('das älteste Denkmal geweiheter Verbindungen') which preserved concepts of divine and human nature that were more pure than those of the public religion were trusted to be. Such concepts were on the one hand symbolical or allegorical for the beginners ('den Neuligen sinnbildlich'), and on the other hand, were more easily accessible to the more advanced ('den Geprüfteren weniger verdeckt'). Not without a certain enthusiasm he then describes the *Hymn* as 'a song of a priest in honour of the Eleusinian mysteries' ('ein Priestergesang zur Ehre der eleusinischen Mysterien'). Voss underlines three important features for the high rank ('Erstrangigkeit') of the text[39] regarding

Alter und Verhalt abzuschäzen vermag, dem wird vorhesiodeische Mystik in Griechenland, und vollends vorhomerische, lächerlich erscheinen.'

[37] 'Verhalt' according to the third meaning in Grimm's Wörterbuch.

[38] See Voss (1826b), VII: 'Die Deutung der eleusinischen Urkunde ist schwierig, wegen des tiefen Inhalts, welchen die äußerst verdorbene Schrift und die Eigenheit der Sprache noch mehr verdeckt.'

[39] See Voss (1826b), VI, for the expression 'hier zuerst' ('here at first') rhetorically repeated three times.

(a) the divinities and the theology of the Hymn, (b) the eschatological aspects, and (c) the vocabulary and terminology of the mysteries and initiation:

> It is here that we first see several deities united in extended glory, that then gradually blend into one universal divinity; it is here that for the first time reward or punishment is allocated to the souls of the deceased through justice. And it is here that we first find something of which there is no trace in Hesiod, not even in his praise for Hekate: original words for mystic initiation and veneration. It is a crucial monument in the whole of the secret doctrine, which shows the matter and the word in its first emergence.[40]

(a) The first aspect about the deities and the theology might also be labelled the 'thesis from polytheism to monotheism'. Voss assumes that in this *Hymn* several deities are united for the first time in extended glory, in order to fuse into a 'Gesamtgottheit' (one universal divinity). (b) In a following thought about the eschatological aspects or the 'justice-after-life-thesis', Voss argues that in this *Hymn* for the first time the souls of the dead are destined to receive reward or punishment according to justice. (c) The third aspect concerns principally the mystical language and vocabulary of the *Hymn*. Voss points out that here there is something which is not even included in Hesiod's praise of Hecate, that is, the original words for mystic initiation and veneration. Therefore, Voss concludes that the text is 'a crucial monument in the whole of the secret doctrine, which shows the matter and the word in its first emergence'. In the following study of his commentary I will focus in particular on these three guiding ideas about the theology, the eschatology, and the mystical language of the *Hymn* in order to show how they are treated explicitly in his commentary and which roles they play in his approach to the *Hymn*.

[40] Voss (1826b), VI: 'Hier zuerst sehn wir mehrere Gottheiten gesellt in erweiterter Herrlichkeit, um allmählich in eine Gesamtgottheit zu verschmelzen; hier zuerst wird den Seelen der Gestorbenen nach Gerechtigkeit Lohn oder Strafe bestimmt. Und hier zuerst finden wir, wovon bei Hesiodus auch im Lobe der Hekate keine Spur ist, eigene Worte für mystische Weihe und Verehrung. Ein entscheidendes Denkmal der ganzen Geheimlehre, welches Sache und Wort im ersten Enstehn zeiget!'

VOSS'S COMMENTARY

Voss's commentary, or more precisely his 'annotations' or 'explications' ('Erläuterungen'), which was first published in the year of his death (1826), may be characterized on the whole as a solid and fundamental philological work that not only discusses textual and metrical problems with regard to the transcription and to previous editions and comments, for example, by Ruhnken, Ilgen, Fontein, Matthaei, Mitscherlich, Hermann, Wolf, and Schäfer, but also explains words, epithets, and concepts drawing on parallel texts. It is remarkable, however, that there are no explicit references to Creuzer's work or the German translation of Stolberg. In the introductory section of the commentary, Voss provides brief details of the anonymous author, the date, and the Homeric as well as the non-Homeric language of the *Hymn*:

> The unnamed author lived shortly after Hesiod, around the time of the thirtieth Olympiad, and was probably in service of the Eleusinian Demeter. He can be identified as Attic through his usage of many regional manners of speaking mixed with Homer's common language of a singer. He is not, therefore, Homer himself, as Pausanias thought: he is, however, Homeric in the sense that he is a brilliant singer along the lines of Homer's tone of voice. After all, the representation becomes only un-Homeric in passages where the priestly function informs the tone of the legend.[41]

Regarding the possible origin and purpose of the *Hymn*, Voss assumes that it was composed for the Eleusinian festival 'after the Eumolpids of Thracian origin had attributed a deeper meaning to the old festival of the goddess of sowing through mysterious practices'.[42] Voss assumes that 'their function is—alongside of the worthiest of the legends and emblems developed over time—to attest to the new secrets like divine traditions'.[43]

With these introductory remarks in mind, I would like to focus on the well-known aphoristic climax of the *Hymn* (vv. 480–2), which leads to an extraordinary passage in the commentary, when Voss raises the important question of with what kind of vision ('welcherlei Schau') the initiated will finally be blessed:[44]

[41] Voss (1826b), Erläuterungen 1.
[42] Voss (1826b), 1. [43] Voss (1826b), 1.
[44] Cf. Richardson (1974), *ad* 480–2: 'These lines form, as it were, the climax of the Hymn.'

ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· (v. 480 Rich. = 483 Voss)

Blessed is he of men on earth, who has beheld them ('the Mysteries').[45]

After this remarkable announcement of the blessed state of those who have seen the Mysteries, the poem continues with the following two verses (vv. 481–2 Rich. = 484–5 Voss[46]):

ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίων
αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι.

Whereas he that is uninitiated in the rites, or he that had no part in them, never enjoys a similar lot down in the musty dark when he is dead.[47]

Commenting on these verses, Voss initially pays attention to issues of transmission and the correct reading of the text before he moves on to the larger question of with what kind of vision the initiated will finally be blessed. In his commentary we rediscover the three ideas of the preface, which are interconnected. At first Voss focuses on the particular language the *Hymn* uses to describe the state of the initiated. Then, he goes on to speculate on eschatological aspects and the *Hymn*'s theology.

The Mystical Language of the *Hymn*

At first he refers to Isocrates in order to illustrate the double aspect of being blessed by Demeter with agricultural bounty in life and with blissful post-mortem existence for the initiated after death.[48] Then, Voss offers several similar passages from other authors in order to characterize the extraordinary state of the initiated (the 'epopt') and his vision, namely from Euripides and Pindar.[49] Thirdly, he reports that Hermann assumed 'without any reason' that these verses (480–2 Rich. = Voss 483–5) were a later addition, while Voss himself takes them to be genuine, pointing to the strong link with other verses.[50] In a fourth step he discusses the transmitted text of the manuscript for these verses. Defending the transmitted text against a conjecture of

[45] Translation by M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 71.
[46] Voss assumes [. . .] οὔποθ' ὁμοίως; his punctuation in v. 485 is also different.
[47] Translation by West (2003), 71.
[48] See Voss (1826b), 142, with reference to Isocrates, *Panegyr.* 4.28.
[49] See Voss (1826b), 142, with references.
[50] Namely verses 365 Rich. (=Voss 366) and 401 Rich. (=Voss 402).

Hermann,[51] Voss argues for a clear distinction between ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν and ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, defining the former as the one who is not completely initiated into the mysteries ('den *Unvollendeten* der heiligen Gebräuche') and who did not reach the vision ('Schau') and final goal of the great mysteries, and the latter as the one who is absolutely without participation ('den ganz *Unteilhaften*'), who is not even initiated to the lesser mysteries. He also refers to Plato's *Phaedo* 69c to illuminate the relationship between initiation (ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος) and purity (κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος).[52]

Voss then speculates more concretely about the content of the vision ('Schau') and presents his thoughts on the theology and eschatology of the Eleusinian document. In what follows, I summarize his view of the content of the secret doctrine ('Geheimlehre'), at first with regard to eschatological concepts and ideas from Homer to Plato and Aristophanes, and secondly with respect to the implicit theology of the *Hymn*. Both these aspects, at the very beginning, Voss calls 'Vernunftwahrheit(en)', that is 'truth(s) of reason'.[53]

Eschatological Aspects

According to Voss, Isocrates, Pindar, and Sophocles show what kind of vision ('Welcherlei Schau') the perfected ones will encounter at the end only insofar as the uninitiated are allowed to see it.[54] Voss assumes that a new truth of reason ('Vernunftwahrheit') had recently developed, which claimed that man, distinguished from animals by

[51] Hermann's conjecture (followed by Wolf and Schäfer) concerns the second part: ὅς τ' ἄμμορος into ὅς τ' ἔμμορος, with the following meaning: 'wer ungeweiht sei, und wer geweiht, habe nimmer ein gleiches Los.' Voss, *ad loc.*

[52] For the context, see Plato, *Phaedo* 69c: καὶ κινδυνεύουσι καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἡμῖν οὗτοι καταστήσαντες οὐ φαῦλοί τινες εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάλαι αἰνίττεσθαι ὅτι ὃς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς Ἅιδου ἀφίκηται ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται, ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει. For a modern study in the terminology of the Eleusinian mysteries in Plato, Philo, and Clement, see C. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin, 1987).

[53] The term and the dichotomy (Eng. truth of reason/truth of fact; Fr. vérités de raison/vérités de fait) go back to Leibniz who distinguishes clearly between 'Vernunftwahrheiten' and 'Tatsachenwahrheiten'; see HWPH, vol. 11, art. 'Vernunftwahrheiten/Tatsachenwahrheiten', 869–72.

[54] See Voss (1826b), 143.

means of his culture, would persist after death.[55] He then sketches a development of ideas about and the geography of life after death starting with Homer.[56] Without concrete references, he describes Homer's region of the dead, which was situated within the flat earth and inhabited by both the good and the bad together—like shadows without memory, until they tasted blood. Those known to have been enemies of the gods suffered pain; those favoured by Zeus enjoyed immortality in Elysion.[57] Voss then claims that a judgement of the dead according to the principles of vice and virtue was invented only after Hesiod, when the 'belief in future retribution' ('Glaube an künftige Vergeltung') according to the judgement of wiser men emerged (namely in Epimenides' verses on Minos and Rhadamanthys).[58] Now the pious were welcomed into a separate realm of pleasure ('abgesonderter Wonnesitz') within the underworld, whereas the impious ('Gottlosen') were thrown into an abyss of punishment, which was soon named 'Tartaros' after the ancient Titans' prison situated underneath the flat earth.[59]

Voss emphasizes that, as a consequence of these ideas, the initiated, according to Plato,[60] taught that the uninitiated ('der Ungeweihete') were lying in the mud, while the initiated ('der Geweihete') lived together with the Gods themselves, and received—according to the false writings ('Trugschriften') of Musaios and Eumolpos—the sacred award for their virtue during the banquet: eternal bliss ('einen ewigen Wonnerausch').[61] According to Voss, both realms were painted most vividly by Pindar, in the (pseudo-platonic dialogue) *Axiochos* and in Aristophanes' play *The Frogs*.[62] Voss concludes particularly from the *Axiochos* that the most excellent state of bliss, the presidency ('den Vorsiz') so to say, was promised to the initiated ('den Geweiheten'). He finally contrasts the cynic Diogenes with Plato: Diogenes rejected this kind of initiation since it seemed ridiculous to have Agesilaos and Epameinondas thrown in the mud, while a few paltry, initiated people were staying on the islands of bliss. Voss thinks that Diogenes was allowed to reveal what Plato had only bestowed on a few wise ones ('nur den Verständigen zugelächelt').[63]

[55] See *ibid.* [56] See *ibid.*, 143–4. [57] See *ibid.*
[58] See *ibid.*, 144. [59] See *ibid.* [60] See Plato, *Phaedo* 69c–d.
[61] See Voss (1826b), 144. [62] *Ibid.*, 144, with references.
[63] See *ibid.*, 144.

From Polytheism to Monotheism

In his subsequent theological reconstruction Voss argues that 'another truth of reason imbedded in the Mysteries' ('eine andere in die Mysterien eingehegte Vernunftwahrheit') might initially have been revealed only to a few perfected ones by the lying Eumolpids ('Trugeumolpen'), and that it took a long time for it to be committed to secrecy.[64] Voss assumes that the initiates finally ventured to step out of the darkness, since the light outside had become too strong, and that 'they acted as enlighteners exulting' ('als Lichtschaffer hervorjubelten') the following theological *credo* ('Bekenntnis'):[65]

> Einer ist Gott, der Urquell alles Lebendigen;
>
> There is One God, the original source of all life;[66]

Secondly, he means the gods of common religion whose meaning as symbols of the One God has to be found analytically.[67] With this theological presupposition in mind Voss suggests the following:

> [T]he initiated Homerid ['der mystische Homeride'] tells us with some hesitations that Demeter and Persephone together with Rhea had been reinterpreted into a higher concept, and that they were understood to be mystically connected to Hecate, Artemis, and Athena.[68]

Voss then deals with a series of early Greek philosophers and quotes some of their sayings, beginning with Thales and Xenophanes, in order to illustrate how they—outside of the mysteries—expressed their thoughts about god. According to Voss, Thales thought that the time was right for the following acknowledgment (paraphrasing Stobaios): that God was not created, being the world's mental capacity ('Denkkraft'); and that the 'whole' has a soul and is full of gods.[69]

[64] See *ibid.* [65] Voss uses the term 'Bekenntnis' ('*credo*') hereon.

[66] Voss (1826b), 145.

[67] See *ibid.*: '[. . .] und Sinnbilder seiner Unendlichkeit sind die vielfachen, unserer Enträtselung bedürfenden Volksdämonen.'

[68] *Ibid.* Voss also suggests that the Pamphean, Mousean, Eumolpian, and orphic chants and statutes certainly began expressing themselves in a more straightforward fashion, introducing every new development of the mysteries to the people, in keeping with the prevalent *Zeitgeist*.

[69] Cf. Stobaios, *Anth.* 1.1.29a, *Θαλῆς ἐρωτηθείς. Τί πρεσβυτάτων τῶν ὄντων; ἀπεκρίνατο· Θεός, ἀγέννητον γάρ.* and 1.1.29b, *Θαλῆς νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου τὸν θεόν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔμψυχον ἅμα καὶ δαιμόνων πλῆρες· διήκειν δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ στοιχειώδους ὑγροῦ δύναμιν θείαν κινητικὴν αὐτοῦ.* See Wöhrle's edition (2009), Th. 339–40. For similar testimonies about Thales and the so-called 'God-is-mind-thesis' in various contexts of

Then he quotes Xenophanes (Clemens, *Strom.* 5.14.109.1 = DK 11 B 23),[70] who according to Voss disliked the humble idea of the Egyptian Osiris[71] and sang about the sublime God of nature. Without concrete references Voss sketches the following climax: when, together with Parmenides, a few wise men dared to derive the gods' names from terms for natural forces, and others, starting with Hecataeus of Miletus, even more audaciously assumed that religious issues had originated from idolized human beings and ancient events, Heraclitus—with Plato's strong approval—warned that the one wise creature does not want to be called 'the only one', but it likes the name of Zeus. At that point Voss imagines the following scenario: those attempting to cover the light tried in vain to end this impiety by means of flattery or threats of bloody eradication; the light broke through, and 'the gods of ancient night' ('die Götter der alten Nacht') had to fade like phantoms, or, reinterpreted as symbols, had to hide in the bosom of 'the one and only' ('in den Schooß des Alleinigen'). Voss suggests that in the Mysteries even more symbols were used more eagerly and openly; and since all deities had been declared viragos ('Mannweib'), it was not long before the former diversity of gods and goddesses—the old fashioned as well as the newly naturalized—had become unified: here in the form of the local ethereal king, there as the fiery controller of the sun, who, elevated by oriental religion, had internalized first Apollo, then Dionysus, and everything linked to them.[72] This kind of appealing twilight ('lockenden Dämmerlichtes') was granted to the uninitiated as well, since festive songs and secret doctrines, formed according to the spirit of the times, were published under honourable names.[73]

early Christian literature, see A. Schwab, *Thales von Milet in der frühen christlichen Literatur. Darstellungen seiner Figur und seiner Ideen in den Textzeugnissen christlicher Autoren der Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (Berlin and Boston, 2011).

[70] Clemens, *Str.* 5.14.109.1: *Εὖ γοῦν καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος, διδάσκων ὅτι εἷς καὶ ἀσώματος ὁ θεός, ἐπιφέρει· εἷς θεός, ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος, οὔ τι δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίιος οὐδὲ νόημα.*

[71] This remark illustrates the evaluating focus of Voss with regard to Egyptian theology against the tendency of his many contemporary colleagues.

[72] Voss (1826b), 145.

[73] In this context Voss also mentions how skilled the remaining Orphics were at taking possession of the most sublime of the world's wisdom and finally even that of the Bible.

Voss completes his slightly idiosyncratic theological reconstruction with the following conclusion, which seems to be directed against those who assume oriental mythology to be an origin for the ancient Greek mysteries. He asks:

> If, then, the wise of the earth urged us to see the gods as nothing more than mere allusions to all the different natural forces, in which the eternal was supposed to reveal itself, how could the origin of this kind of symbolic theology not, as a consequence, be derived from legends and songs about remarkable ancestors and events? Even the greater gods according to Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.13) ascended to heaven from us; point to the tombs of several people and the initiated should know what the mysteries taught.[74]

Finally Voss refers explicitly to Lobeck and his *de Morte Bacchi* §3[75] and describes this work as rich in content which will offer 'beneficient light' ('wohltätiges Licht') on the further development of mysticism—probably not to be welcomed by 'the birds of the night'.[76]

CONCLUSION

We may infer from the early history of the discovery and the edition of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Europe, and particularly in Germany, that the *Hymn* was a topic of great interest and came to form part of the broader debate about the time and origin of 'mystical religion' in ancient Greece. In his *Preface* Voss argued rather polemically against the opinion of some of his contemporary philologists (such as his colleague Friedrich Creuzer in Heidelberg) that there was a strong influence of 'Oriental wisdom' on early Greek culture. In contrast, he describes the hymn as a song of a priest in honour of the Eleusinian Mysteries and emphasizes the old age of the text, which he identifies as 'the oldest memorial of holy bonds'.

[74] Voss (1826b), 146.
[75] This work was published in 1810.
[76] Voss (1826b), 146: 'Mehreres giebt Lobecks gehaltreiche Schrift *de Morte Bacchi* §3, deren weitere Ausführung über den Gang der Mystik ein wohlthätiges, wenn auch den Nachtvögeln unwillkommenes, Licht verbreiten wird.'

As we have seen, apart from issues relating to the core field of philology (textual criticism, vocabulary, etc.), Voss names in his *Vorrede* three remarkable aspects which in his view determine the special character of the hymn and its contribution to the ancient Greek world and culture. If we now reconsider these aspects, we shall achieve a better appreciation of Voss's approach and of the understanding of the *Hymn* in his time. Although Voss does not intend 'to merely contemplate words', but to interpret them linguistically, we note particularly in comparison with modern commentaries such as the one by Nicholas Richardson, that he was not yet concerned with archaeological and only rarely with inscriptional evidence. In contrast Voss employs the term 'doctrine' in connection with eschatological and theological aspects and tries to reconstruct in both fields a kind of development and evolution of concepts based only on literary texts, especially the Presocratics and Plato.[77] He argues that these concepts become increasingly clear and culminate in what he calls truths of reason ('Vernunftwahrheiten'), which are in his view part of the revealed doctrine of mysteries. The above suggests that Voss envisages in both fields an evolution of concepts and ideas accompanied by a natural movement towards enlightenment and reason, but also a monotheism as the most rational and enlightened form of religion.[78] As a consequence of his doctrinal and theological approach, but also probably due to the lack of archaeological evidence, Voss does not pay much attention to questions concerning the

[77] In his study on Karl Otfried Müller, F. Graf, 'Karl Otfried Müller: Eleusinien (1840)', in W. M. Calder III and R. Schlesier (eds), *Zwischen Rationalismus und Romantik. Karl Otfried Müller und die antike Kultur* (Hildesheim, 1998), 221–2, notes: 'Zu Müllers Zeit war das antiquarische Wissen um die eleusinischen Mysterien noch immer fast ausschließlich durch jene literarischen Texte bestimmt, die der Niederländer Ioannes Meursius in seiner Monographie *Eleusinia sive de Cereris Eleusiniae sacro, ac festo liber singularis* von 1619 mit großem Fleiß praktisch in ihrer Gesamtheit versammelt hatte; Müller verweist ausdrücklich auf ihn als Hauptquelle.' Voss likewise uses Meursius' text-collection, cf. e.g. Voss (1826b), 143.

[78] This monotheistic interpretation of the Eleusinian Mysteries seems at first glance similar to Creuzer's thesis that 'the Attic Mysteries taught the great proposition of one God' ('Die attischen Mysterien lehrten den großen Satz von *Einem* Gotte'). This citation originates from Creuzer's *Symbolik* (1810–12; quoted from the third edition 1843), vol. 4, 230. Creuzer however adds by way of explanation *ibid.*: 'natürlich nicht in einer philosophischen Abstraction und nach der ihm durch das Judenthum und Christenthum gegebenen Wendung. Zu Eleusis musste er an die höhere Erkenntniss von der Ceres und Proserpina angeknüpft werden; in ihnen musste sich das Eine göttliche Wesen selbst darstellen, sie beide aber sich in Ein Wesen auflösen. Da war Demeter-Persephone die Matrix aller Götter und aller erschaffenen Dinge.'

ritual.[79] He also does not refer to the current classification of the mysteries in *dromena*, *deiknymena*, and *legomena*, going back to Jane Ellen Harrison who bases her terminology on Pausanias:[80] it seems that the *dromena* and *deiknymena* do not play any role in Voss's approach.[81] As we have seen in the earlier mentioned examples, Voss interprets the hymn with a clear focus on the Greek tradition and does not take into account further testimonies of other (oriental) literatures and cultures. This is remarkable with regard to his polemical discussion of the origin of Dionysus and the influence of Egypt and India in his *Preface*. We note that Voss—in clear contrast to his colleague Friedrich Creuzer in his *Symbolik*—only rarely touches upon these aspects in his commentary, but in general mainly focuses on Greek literature and parallels.

Considering the above, Voss's approach might be seen first of all as purely 'hellenocentric', with a strong perspective of the (late) Enlightenment. However, given the way he presents himself in the *Preface* in contrast to 'those quibblers', Voss's approach to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and his translation illustrate well his vivid and profound interest far beyond a purely 'philological' interest in the text.

[79] On the significance of ritual in the interpretation of the Mysteries, see Graf (1998), 226: 'Die Ablehnung einer Belehrung als Zentrum der Mysterien zugunsten von individueller Erfahrung und Gestimmtwerden rückt die Frage nach dem Ritual als Medium dieses Erlebens in den Mittelpunkt.'

[80] I owe this reference to Fritz Graf. I am also grateful for his valuable comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

[81] For an interpretation of the archaeological, literary, and inscriptional evidences, see W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, 2nd edn (Berlin and New York, 1997), 274–327.

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Index Locorum

AESCHYLUS
Th.
106 213
ALCAEUS (Voigt)
fr.
349a–e 167
ANTIMACHUS COLOPHONIUS
fr. (Matthews)
2 6
31.4–5 6
94 6
162 6
APOLLONIUS RHODIUS
1.363–401 63
1.365 11, 62
1.395 63
1.402–4 63
1.425–30 63
1.457–9 11
1.492–518 64
1.494–518 11
1.803 12
1.850 12
1.1182–4 12
2.694–713 69
3.129–53 12
3.152 12
3.482 11
3.588–9 65
3.592 65
4.102 65
4.118–21 65
4.713–14 247
4.869–79 11
4.877 11
APSINES
1.77 184
ARATUS
Ph.
30–5 10, 172
268–9 10
ARISTIDES
Or. (Keil)
28 165
34 177
37.3 168
37–46 165
40.1 18, 170
41.4 175
41.6 167
41.8 166
43.8 172
43.25 175
43.31 175
46.14 166

CALLIMACHUS
Aet. (Pfeiffer)
fr. 177.12–14 Pf. 12
fr. 177.15–16 Pf. 13
Del.
55ff 167
Hy.
1.4–8 7
1.46–54 62
1.47 62
1.55–9 61
1.79 61
1.79–80 270
1.85–90 60
1.87–8 271
2.1 111
3.6 81
3.27 249
4.268–73 4
5.2–12 290
CICERO
Tusc.
1.13 364
CORNUTUS (p. Lang)
de Natura Deorum
9 196
16 189, 191–2, 201
17 196
22 196
24 198
28 196
30 196
32 197
35 189, 197

EURIPIDES
Ba.
434–518 95
447–8 104
IT
232 251
Med.
93–4 247
172 247
Tr.
820–57 123
EUSTATHIUS (van der Valk)
8.1.69–71 251–2

GREGORY NAZIANZUS
Carm. 2.1.1.280 265

HESIOD
Op.
236 251
770–1 130
776–81 131
794–7 131
Th.
6–8 284
31–3 237
96 61
457 284
482–4 62
483 173
533 228
693 199
924–6 169
HOMER
Il.
1.249 257
1.591–4 282
2.488–90 273
4.109 255
5.127–8 207
5.265–6 154
6.130–40 194
13.465–6 119
13.685 282
19.119 130
20.142 298
20.234–5 121, 155
20.308 282
21.319 199
Od.
6.149–54 215
6.149b–150a 315
6.150–2 313
8.266–366 147, 158
8.334–42 147
11.19 237
13.28–9 169
14.99–104 57
14.435 228
24.2–4 229
24.4 231
HOMERIC HYMNS
Hy. 1 (Dionysos, West)
A 2–6 7
A 3 194
A 10 6
A 11–14 2
D 8–9 175, 195
Hy. 2 (Demeter)
8–11 6
54 239
98–9 9
187 251
192 239
237–53 11
265–7 352
302–13 225
310–12 156
350–1 247
353–4 156
377–9 35
407 237
417 117
424 117
450–1 199
469 199
470–95 84
480–2 39, 358
480–3 238
481–2 359
492 239
495 80
Hy. 3 (Apollo)
14–18 91
19 18, 274
22 329
24–51 191
25–8 250
27 18
40 305
42 330
80 11
87–8 4
91 130, 131

92 130
97–115 132
127–32 191
131 191
131–2 133
132 174
134 304
135–6 328
146–50 177
147 271
157–9 91
165–7 183
165–72 178
171–8 92
172 281–2, 298
177–8 8
187 298
201 293
207 170
207–15 111
247 11
258 11
287 11
317 282
320 282
341 199
399–401 325
436–62 191
519 237
Hy. 4 (Hermes)
5–9 149
6–7 233
11 1
13–16 150
14 191
17 293
17–19 60
18 31
19 10
24 10
34–6 330
36 285
40 12
43 294
48 62, 248
51 201, 249
52 12
55–6 11
57–62 341
62 329
63 62
64 191
68–86 56
73–8 67
105–29 63
111–13 12
112 12
124–6 69
128 11, 62
129 63
131 224
145 330
145–9 230
147 11
150 62
155–61 12
156–9 149
163–81 148
195 342
201–7 13
237–8 10
249–51 235
249–77 68
253 342
254 62
254–303 157
264 160
281 82
290 62
291 56
295–6 296
314 232
332 298
358 62
368–86 68
407 235
409–10 41
409–14 46
409–62 63
418 247
418–35 11
420 47, 82
423–5 191
427–38 233–4
430 227
433 191, 233
434 306
435–55 332
438 234
450 306
455 191
458–62 57
462 12
474 294

HOMERIC HYMNS (*cont.*)
475 191
476 191
477 56
483 227
499 191
502 286
506–15 191
516 151
521–3 151
529–33 232–4
533–8 190
552 338
567–71 40
572 151
Hy. 5 (Aphrodite)
1–9 115
2 15
2–6 82
7 12, 116
7–35 152
8 330
8–20 116
9–10 153
16–22 115
17 153
19 8
20 8
21–34 116
33–5 115
38 15
53–5 124
55 268
68–112 309–16
81 15
84 267
86–9 266
92–112 115
101 315
107–43 266
155–67 335
156 15
165 335
172–5 115
193 15
196–7 15, 83
197 282
200–17 120–4
207–11 154
211 154, 335
218 124
218–38 122–3
219 124
227 124
239–43 122–3
242 124
244 282
256–80 83
258 8
261 23
273–7 21
276–7 120
281–90 118
292–3 83
Hy. 6 (Aphrodite)
1–5a 318
4–6 318–19
7–13 320–1
10 323
10–13 175–7
14–21 321–2
20 91
Hy. 7 (Dionysus)
1–11 23
3–4 98
5–6 99
13–14 104
15–17 100
15–24 101
20–1 100
48 103
50 103
52 100
53 106
53–4 100
55–8 101
Hy. 8 (Ares)
1 212
1–2 284
1–9 212
2 213
3–5 213
6–8 214
10–17 217
12 214
13 214, 217
14–16 214
Hy. 10 (Aphrodite)
5 91
Hy. 11 (Athena)
5 91
Hy. 12 (Hera)
3 284
Hy. 13 (Demeter)

3 91
Hy. 14 (Mother of Gods)
3 284
Hy. 15 (Heracles)
9 91
Hy. 18 (Hermes)
1 23
1–2 284
4–18 23
Hy. 19 (Pan)
2 288
2–18 287
3 68
4 288
5 68
5–7 288
9 237
10–14 69
11 68
15–18 288
19–20 68
22–4 288
30 288
48 91
Hy. 22 (Poseidon)
7 91
Hy. 23 (Zeus)
4 91
Hy. 24 (Hestia)
4–5 91
Hy. 25 (Apollo, the Muses, Zeus)
6 91
Hy. 26 (Dionysos)
6 10, 172
12 91
Hy. 27 (Artemis) 92
Hy. 28 (Athena)
4–5 289
9–16 290
Hy. 30 (Mother of All) 339–40
9 199
18 91
Hy. 31 (Helios)
6 248
15 92
17 91

HORACE
Carm.
1.10 50
1.10.1–12 81
1.10.13–20 82
1.12.13–32 80
1.17.1–4 87
1.21 88–90
3.2.9–16 88
3.2.25–30 84
3.18 85–7
4.15 22, 125
4.15.25–32 82–3
Saec. 92–3

LIVY
1.6.4–1.7.5 74–5
1.7.3 70
1.7.9–10 74
1.7.15 137
1.8.2 74

LUCIAN
DDeor.
1 160
3 159
4 148, 149
5 160
6 160, 162
7 159
8 160
9 160
10 153–4, 159
11 151, 156, 160
16 157
17 157, 160
19 162
21 157
22 156
24 159
25 157

LUCRETIUS
1.1–4 82
1.18–20 82

MACROBIUS
3.11.7 70

MAXIMUS
452 227

NICANDER
Alex. 559–62 10

NONNUS
D.
3.409–12 230
20.117–22 230
24.272–320 238–9
35.227–41 229
45.103–69 105

NONNUS (*cont.*)
45.105–69 225
45.165 103
48.146 249
48.168 249

ORPHICA
A.
126 227
fr. (Bernabé)
125 284
152 284
383 19
H.
10.30 217
11.2–20 288
11.12 290
17.10 217
19.23 217
OVID
Am.
3.8.51–2 88
3.9.13–14 114
Ars
3.101–34 122
Her.
16.191–204 122
16.195 124
16.195–6 124
16.199 124
16.199–200 123
16.200–4 124
Fasti
1.461–586 76
1.519–22 77
1.549–50 76
1.557–8 66
1.583–4 77
5.643–50 76
Met.
1.1–3 109
1.486–7 110
1.515–22 111
1.558–67 111
1.560–5 136
2.13b–14 319
3.251–315 336–7
3.562–76 95
3.574 96
3.576 96
3.581 101
3.582–691 96
3.605 102
3.606 99
3.607 98
3.609–14 101
3.611 100
3.613–14 102
3.620 99
3.626–7 98
3.629 98, 106
3.636 98
3.640 100
3.649 100
3.656 106
3.667 107
3.670–1 103
3.671 107
3.671–82 106
3.673–8 106
3.681 107
3.685 108
3.687–8 100
3.690–2 100
3.692 105
3.699–700 103–4
3.723–4 106
4.11–30 112–13
4.13–30 87
4.23–4 87
4.170 117
4.190–2 117, 125
4.285–388 120
4.288–9 119
4.292–3 120
4.391–415 113
5.341–5 114
5.363–79 114
5.365–79 125
5.368 116
5.369–70 115
5.372 116
5.375 116
5.375–6 116
9.1–272 129, 135
9.241 137
9.256–8 133
9.261–72 130
9.268 134
9.270 133, 136
9.273–323 129–30
9.283 132
9.287 133
9.292 130, 131

9.294 132
9.297 132
10.155–61 120–2
10.160–1 121
11.203 135
11.211–23 135
14.27 118
14.158–222 105
14.477–8 118

PHILOSTRATUS
Im.
1.10.1 296
1.19.1 103
1.19.5 107
1.26.1 250
PHOTIUS
Bibl.
247.415b 256
PINDAR
fr. (Snell–Maehler)
283 167
Ol.
7.35–9 169
PLATO
Phd.
69c 360
R.
378a5–6 205
398a1–b4 203
507a3 209
Tht.
176a–d 216
PLUTARCH
Ages.
14 213
PRIAPEA
27, 3f 282
PROCLUS
H. 2.1–21 209–10
H. 4.5–7 207
H. 7.4 213
PROPERTIUS
2.31.15–16 90
3.17.25–6 88
4.9.11–12 75
4.37–50 75

SAPPHO (Voigt)
fr. 31.1–5 265
fr. 44a.1–11 8

SENECA
Oed.
449–67 88
1001 328
SOTADES COMICUS (*PCG*)
1.28–9 10
STATIUS
Silv.
1.2.2 304
STRABO
5.3.3 70
SUETONIUS
Aug.
93 85

TACITUS
Ann.
15.41 70
THEODOROS PRODROMOS
4.12 272
4.251–60 272–3
6.40–8 264–7
6.54–6 269–70
6.212–18 268–9
42.1–3 273
42.54–60 274
THUCYDIDES
3.104 334
TIMOTHEUS (PMG)
Pers.
fr. 790 213

VIRGIL
Aen.
1.4 118, 125
1.47 284
1.254 284
1.314–20 115
1.327–9 315
1.327b–8a 316
1.327f–8 102
1.328 315
1.329 313
1.330 102
1.332–3 102
1.335 315
1.402–4 115
1.633–6 115, 125
2.649 119
3.98 282

VIRGIL (*cont.*)
4.469 97
6.801–5 88
8.184–275 69
8.193–7 66
8.205–12 56
8.206 67
8.209–12 67
8.219–20 68
8.241–6 68
8.263 68
8.268–72 70
8.285–6 72
8.285–305 69
8.663–70 72
8.675–723 75
8.714–9 72
Ecl.
6.64–73 4
G.
1.284–6 131
4.127 284

Index Rerum

adaptation 24, 61, 117, 132, 136, 146, 147, 149, 163, 218, 272, 302, 326
Aeetes 65
Aelius Aristides (quoting Thucydides) 177–8
aemulatio 17, 69
Aeneas 2, 21, 66, 68–9, 71, 72, 76, 82, 83, 93, 102, 105, 115, 119–24, 313, 315
  and Heracles 70
Aeson 65
aetiology 9, 69, 70–1, 73, 74, 93
allegory / allegorical (interpretation) 24, 85, 177, 187, 192, 195, 196, 201, 205–6, 211, 231, 253, 258, 356
Anchises 2, 14, 21, 82–3, 115, 118–20, 122–4, 152, 154, 265–6, 268, 309–15, 317, 326, 335–7
Andronicus of Hermopolis 231
annotation / annotate 25, 111, 113, 114, 117, 277, 280, 281, 283, 284, 297, 358
Antony 72, 138
Apollodorus of Athens 24, 197–201
Apollonius Rhodius 10–12, 22, 55–8, 62–5, 69–70, 73, 77–8, 225, 236
aporia 171, 173, 274
apostrophe 113, 238
  epic 37
Ara Maxima 71, 72, 75, 137
Arcadia 66, 76, 86, 155
aretalogy 82, 113
Argo 62, 64–6
Argonautica (Apollonius Rhodius) 62–5
Aristophanes 5, 360–1
Augustus 71–7, 85, 88, 89, 91, 111, 134–8, 140–1
  and Apollo 134
  and Hercules 71, 77, 135
  temple 137

banqueting, *see* symposium
Berenice 60
Bessarion 281, 290–3, 298
bia 58, 67, 73
birth
  divine 4, 7, 8, 18, 63–4, 113, 119, 129–31, 133–4, 146, 149, 155–7, 168–70, 173, 289–90, 316–17
  royal 61
birth legend 113
Botticelli, S. 301–2, 317
bride 244, 262–7
bridegroom 263–9
Brown, N. 58–9
Brygos Painter 46–50

Caca 66
Cacus 56–77, 137
Callimachus 4–9, 10, 12–14, 17–18, 21–2, 25, 55–7, 60–3, 73–5, 77–8, 80, 89, 110, 111, 117, 124–5, 137, 167, 173, 208, 212–16, 252–4, 270–2, 285, 289–92, 298
Carmentalia 76
Carmentis 76
Cartellino Painter 30–1
Cassarino, A. 260
Catreus 65
cattle 41, 44, 46–8, 68, 74, 76, 77, 148, 330–1
  as symbol of wealth and power 57–60, 74
  theft 30, 41, 44, 51, 56–7, 61, 63, 66–71, 73–5, 77, 78, 81, 137, 148–9, 150–1, 156–7, 250
Chalcondyles, D. 298, 326
Chalkokondyles, D. 303
Chapman, G. 25, 326–32, 339, 342, 343
Christ 230, 235, 237, 238, 240, 248, 263, 270
Christian poetry 23, 24, 221–2, 227, 230–1, 235–40, 244, 270, 283
Christianity 203–4, 231, 245, 339
Christodorus of Coptos 225
Chrysippus 192, 197
Cleanthes 25, 190, 196, 197, 285
Cleopatra 72
Codex Mosquensis (= M) 243, 252–60, 346, 350
Colluthus 225–6

comic 18, 145, 146, 149, 151, 152, 155, 157, 162–4, 308, 315, 340, 344
commentary 16, 26, 141, 196–7, 262, 304, 306, 327, 329, 345, 347, 348–9, 350, 358–9, 366
  poetic meta-commentary 322
comparison of the maiden to the moon 266
Congreve, W. 25, 326–7, 333–7, 343
Constantinople 248, 252, 253, 254, 258–60, 263–4, 267–9, 272, 274, 290–1, 297
contaminatio 96
Cornutus 20, 23, 24, 187–202
Creuzer, F. 348, 352–5, 358, 364–6
Cronus 62, 172–3, 183
cult 9, 30, 68, 69–72, 75, 85, 91, 92, 101, 113, 137, 175, 195, 213, 214, 240
  'cult-formula' 237
Curetes 62, 173

Danishmendids 262
de'Medici, G. 308, 309
de'Medici, L. 303, 304, 308
depiction (= artistic representation) 24, 35, 41, 46, 51, 138
diakrisis 234
Diana (Nemorensis) 91
didactic 109–10, 196, 205, 228, 234
diffraction 226
Diogenes 361
Diogenes Laertius 192
Dionysius of Halicarnassus 74
Dionysus 33–4, 88, 93, 95–6, 97, 100–1, 103–4, 105, 106, 107, 148, 155, 156, 166, 167, 172, 193, 194–5, 198, 201, 229, 250, 326, 352, 354, 363, 366
  abduction by pirates 8, 32, 87, 93, 95–108, 166
  and Hephaestus 167
  Athenian theatre of 198
  birth 156
  depiction 34
  Eiraphiotes 194–5
  from Egypt 352–5
  and India 166, 229, 352–4, 366
  Lysios 103
Dioscorus of Aphrodito 226
dolos 58, 67, 73

Egypt 60–1, 226, 231, 234, 352–4, 366
ekphrasis 248, 263, 322
Electra 66
'Eleusinian document' 26, 345–66
Eleusinian mysteries 84–5, 347, 356, 360, 364, 365
Eleusinian theology/eschatology 356–7
emulating, see *aemulatio*
epiphany 33–4, 47, 99–100, 104, 107, 113, 115, 230, 312
epithalamium 244–5
etymology 66, 195, 198, 201, 331
Eugenikos, J. 15, 243, 253–4, 257–60, 278
Eugenikos, M. 253, 256
Euripides 67, 87–8, 95, 97, 104, 123, 247–8, 251, 359
Eurydice (wife of Ptolemy Soter) 60
Evander 66, 69, 70, 75, 76, 77
exegesis 204, 207
Exekias 30, 32–4
exordium 183
expectations 152, 158, 315

Faunalia 86
Faunus 85–7, 94
Ficino 278, 283, 302–3
fraternal strife 60, 65, 74–5, 77–8
frontality 35–7

Gattungsmischung 18, 161
genre 18, 23, 94, 96, 109–10, 146–8, 158, 161, 162, 199, 222, 231, 310, 338
Georgios Scholarios 291
geras 56, 64
Geryon 66, 68, 76
Greek mysteries 364
Gregory of Nazianzus 188, 208, 222–3, 234, 235, 237, 245, 256, 257, 265, 269, 270, 271
grotesque 107, 162

Hades 14, 35, 38, 117, 149, 151, 160, 188, 229, 273–4
Hagia Sophia 264, 268–9
Handel, G. F. 337
harpage 58
Hecataeus of Miletus 363
Heidelberg 345, 347–9
Hekate 35, 38, 357
Heracles 13, 18, 58–9, 63, 67, 70, 148, 170–2, 226
Heraclitus 363
Hercules, *see* Heracles
Hermann, G. 178, 338, 346, 348, 352–3, 358, 359–60

Hermes (depiction of) 35–51
Hermetic 229, 231
Hermopolis 231, 234, 240
Hero and Leander 225
Hesiodic 5, 18, 131, 199, 270
Hesperides 75, 132
Homeric *corpus* 79, 240
Homeric Hymns
  in a Homer edition 252–60
  performance 30, 83, 86
  quotation 18, 169, 172, 174, 177–9, 184, 189, 196, 200–1, 221–2, 224, 225, 227, 235, 240, 316
  transmission 15, 22, 125, 200, 214, 219
hymnic form 80, 110, 113, 262, 273
hypotext 148, 298
Hypsipyle 64

Idas 63, 71
Idmon 64, 71
Ilgen, C. D. 346, 358
illustration 19, 29, 30, 34
incongruity 46, 147, 162
innovation 76, 104, 109, 146, 262
inscriptional poetry 238
inspiration 25, 185, 189, 205–7, 219, 236, 256–7, 289, 302, 306, 317, 344
intertextuality 4, 9, 17, 18, 22, 55, 64, 65, 69, 77, 78, 93, 95, 96, 125, 128, 146, 147, 172, 187, 188, 201, 265, 267, 281
invocation 79, 92, 109, 110, 113, 212, 269, 270, 271, 273, 291, 292, 308, 338
Iohannes Tortellius Claron 305
Isaak Komnenos 273
Isocrates 359–60

Jason 59, 64–6
Jason of Pherai 58
John II Komnenos 258, 261–2
Julian the Apostate 234, 270
Julius Caesar 76, 140

Kastamon 262–3, 272
katabasis 68
klope 58
Kontrastimitation 235
kudos 56, 64

Landino, C. 308
Lascaris, C. 279–80
Lascaris, I. 297–8
laughter 82, 116, 157, 162
Lavinia 71, 77
Lessing 29
literalization 156
Livia 76
Livy 78, 137
lusus 305
lyric 80, 81, 83, 84, 88, 90–4, 265, 295

Maia 10, 39–41, 44, 46, 47, 148, 149, 150, 158, 189, 228, 233, 235, 296, 342
manteuoi 165
manuscript 15, 25, 26, 192, 208, 215, 217, 226, 243, 247, 252–4, 257–60, 272, 277–80, 285, 286, 290, 294, 297, 299, 346, 349, 350, 356, 359
Marinus 208–9
Matthaei, C. F. 346, 350, 358
Matthiae, A. 339, 346
Maximus of Ephesus 234
Medea 65, 248
metaliterary 107
Michael IV (emperor) 247
mirroring 60, 104, 315, 316
mise en abyme 61, 69, 73, 75
Mitscherlich, C. G. 346, 358
Momus 298
monarch 73, 78
motive 21, 24, 99, 103, 104, 116, 117, 121, 216, 218, 279
Mount Athos 252
Musaeus 225

narrative
  continuous 47
  doubling 104
  embedded 97
  hymnic 20, 96, 99, 100, 158, 162, 163
Nausikaa 313, 315
neikos 64
Nereus 68

Odysseus 9, 57, 59, 169, 209, 313, 315
Orient 279, 287, 320, 352, 355, 363, 364, 366
Orpheus 11, 19, 64, 69, 121, 225, 253, 288, 289, 294, 296, 297, 304
Orphic *Argonautica* 2, 225, 227, 254, 279, 283, 291, 294
Orphic *Lithica* 234, 240
Osiris 363

Pallanteum 66
Pallas 75–7, 80, 114, 116, 289
Parmenides 205, 363
parody 150, 156, 161–3
pars epica 151, 159–60
patria of Hermopolis 231, 234, 240
Pausanias 1, 23, 198, 358, 366
Pelias 64–5
Pentheus 22, 95, 97, 101–6, 113, 117
performance 30, 83, 86, 91, 92, 364
Persephone 38, 93, 116, 188, 199, 362
Persephone Painter 30, 34, 36, 37
Perseus 59
Philip of Macedon 57
philosophy 146, 206, 209, 253, 258, 260
Philoxenus 197
Phrixus 65
Pindar 5, 18, 34, 57, 64, 167–70, 179, 180, 184, 212, 279, 359–61
Plato 160, 163, 203–6, 208–12, 216, 218, 260, 360, 361, 363, 365
Plotinus 206
poeta doctus 315
poetic memory 104, 118
polarity 149
politicization 128
Porphyry 204, 206, 216
Posidonius 197
Posthomerica 224
Potitius 70
prayer 11, 89, 90, 91, 102, 113, 161, 185, 207, 212, 214, 216, 217, 246, 256, 263, 269, 273, 292
prelude, see *prooimion*
Presocratics 205, 365
Proclus 204–18, 223, 225, 235, 240, 254, 272, 283, 285, 302
proem, see *prooimion*
prooimion 5, 18, 165, 178, 184
psychopompos 82, 148
Ptolemy Ceraunus 60, 71
Ptolemy Soter 60
Pulci, L. 308
Pythian Games 58

quasi-cento 237
quest 59, 61, 63–6
Quintus of Smyrna 224, 281

reciprocity 151, 160
recognition 102, 104, 297
religion 132, 137, 146, 162, 339, 345–66
representation 19, 29, 30, 65, 138, 145, 151, 155, 214
ring-composition 172
ritual 19, 30, 39, 86, 87, 92, 100, 205, 209, 352, 366
Romantic movement 347
Ruhnken, D. 178, 346, 349–51, 358
ruler 60, 71, 74, 77, 85, 114, 155, 166, 213, 265, 270; *see also* monarch

sacrifice 63, 64, 66, 69, 70, 76, 87, 135, 154, 156, 205, 255, 313–15
Salii 69, 72
satiric 146, 262
satyrs 18, 35, 107, 112–13
school 5, 16, 23, 31–2, 81, 204, 228–9, 240, 246, 259–60
school text 31–2, 260
Shelley, M. 25, 325–7, 338–40, 342, 344
Sibylline Oracles 238
simile 107, 263, 265, 267, 269
Sophocles 5, 18, 67, 119, 129, 141, 200, 360
spheres of power 146, 150, 155–6, 158, 162
sphragis 14, 272
Stephanus, H. 303
Stobaios 362
Stolberg, C. 350, 358
Strasbourg Cosmogony 231–4
symposium 33, 47, 209

Thales 362
theology 24, 277, 284, 357, 359, 360, 364
theourgia 206
Tiber 66, 93
Tiberius 76
timai 41, 147, 156
Tortelli, G. 260, 278, 305
transposition 24, 145, 147, 150, 152–3, 155, 156
Triphiodorus 224
Turnebus, A. 303
Turnus 71

underworld 59, 62, 67–8, 72–3, 82, 115, 150, 197, 361
usurpation 57, 230, 235, 238, 240

Valla, G. 279–82
variatio 10, 99, 106, 133, 225
varietas docta 307
Vespucci, S. 309
vision 329, 358–60
Vision of Dorotheus 236
visual joke 48
Voss, J. H. 345–66

Warburg, A. 301–2, 317
wealth 57, 59–60, 298, 340
Wolf, C. W. F. A. 346, 358
worship 101, 108, 204, 208, 246, 315, 352

Xenophanes 163, 362, 363

Zeus (depiction) 44